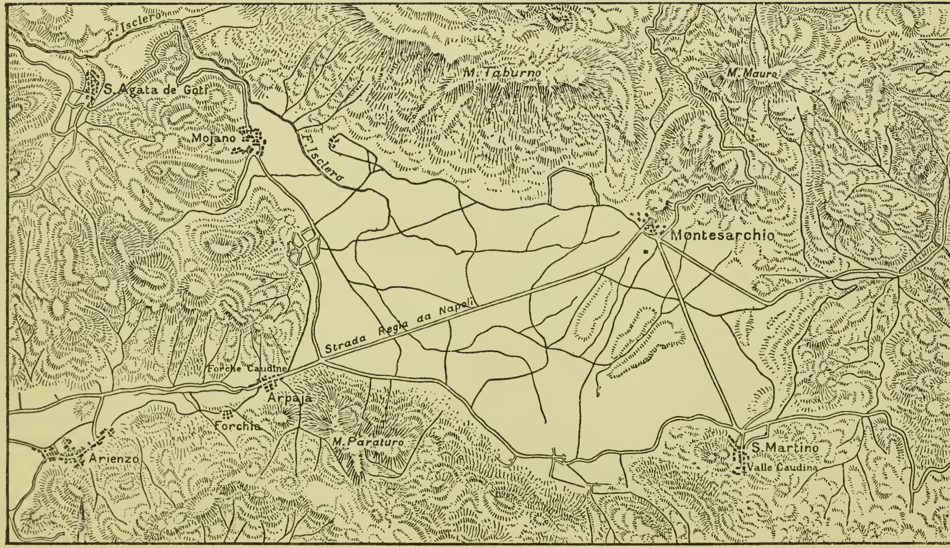
Pitt Press Series

LIVY

BOOK IX



THE VALLEY OF THE CAUDINE FORKS

LIVY

BOOK IX

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

BY

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PREFACE

IN accordance with the desire of the publishers, the text of this edition is for the most part reprinted from Mr Stephenson's edition, previously published in the Pitt Press Series, though some alterations, mainly orthographical, have been introduced. To Mr Stephenson, therefore, is due the running analysis which accompanies the text[1].

In preparing the commentary I have constantly had before me the well-known editions of Weissenborn (revised by H. J. Müller) and of Luterbacher, and I owe a great deal to both. I have seldom consulted any English edition[2]. An effort has been made to do the work in a spirit of independence, and it will be found that this book differs considerably, for better or worse, from former editions of Book IX. In several places it has seemed necessary to reject time-honoured explanations which have been handed down through generations of commentators. On two passages (cc. 17—19 and c. 39. 4) the view here taken is so different from that of previous editors that it could not be set forth in the commentary, but had to be reserved for appendixes (App. II., second part, and III.). Several cases

[1] Here also, however, a few slight changes have been made.

[2] Professor Walters' useful little edition of cc. 1—19 came into my hands late, but, fortunately, not too late to permit of my acknowledging his prior claim to the view taken in this commentary of *ferret*, c. 2. 5 and *quicquid...inusserit*, c. 3. 13.

of borrowing from metrical sources have been unearthed (*e.g.* c. 19. 17, 32. 5 ff., 41. 18 f.); these seem to suggest that in the work of Livian *Quellenforschung* a good deal still remains to be done. Some of the matters just mentioned have been treated more fully in a paper which will shortly be published in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*

The information on Livian usage contained in Riemann's *Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Tite-Live* has often proved of great service. I have also consulted Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae* with profit, and when I have felt compelled to disagree with him, I have done so with diffidence.

The ninth book of Livy offers a complicated puzzle to the historical investigator, and it would be impossible, even if the editor felt himself fitted for the task, to deal at length in an edition such as this with the many historical problems presented. As they cannot, however, be wholly neglected, it has seemed best to relegate the discussion of them for the most part to an appendix, where they need not trouble the younger student. Appendix I. is little more than an abstract of Nissen's able article, *Der Caudinische Friede*, in *Rheinisches Museum* xxv. (1870). A few other historical questions, particularly in the later chapters, have been lightly touched upon in the commentary. The notes on constitutional and political matters owe much to Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, and a few other works. The Introduction contains little more than a brief account of some things which it is desirable that a student should know before beginning Book IX. In writing § 3 I have consulted Soltau's ingenious and scholarly treatise, *Livius' Geschichtswerk.*

It will be noticed that the indexes are unusually full. I

would fain hope that they will be an aid to the study not only of the ninth book, but of other books of Livy. The second index will probably be of most service to teachers and to university students, but Index I. could, I trust, be used with some profit by less advanced students, to fix in their minds some of the chief points of Latin syntax in general and Livian syntax in particular, and for some other purposes.

I owe my best thanks to Professor R. S. Conway, of the University of Manchester, for making very useful suggestions on a considerable part of the commentary, and for furnishing me with two notes (which are distinguished by his initials) on c. 36; and I am under deep obligations to Professor A. Souter, of Mansfield College, Oxford, who revised the proofs of the whole work and rendered me valuable assistance during my absence from England, especially by examining the readings of the Bodleian codex in several places. I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to the care and accuracy of the readers of the University Press.

W. B. A.

OXFORD,
June 1st, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, p. xviii, line 29: for 'decade' read 'five books'; also in the next line for 'decade' read 'five.'

Page 104, delete line 6 ('For the variant...').

Page 169, delete line 10 ff. ('We must then ..of Plistica').

Page 198, fifth line from bottom: for ⟨*arma*⟩ read *signa*.

from the neighbourhood of Reate to the junction of the Tiber and the Anio[1]. The main body of the Umbrians was dislodged, chiefly by the Etruscans, from most of its possessions, and finally survived as an independent people only in the district known in historical times as Umbria. The Sabini, however, sent out branches over central Italy. These Sabellian tribes, as they were called, inhabited mountainous, inaccessible districts, and, unlike their brother Umbrians, suffered little from the incursions of the Etruscans and subsequently of the Gauls. The chief Sabellian people was known as the Samnites. Their four

[1] They seem also to have made their way into what was afterwards called Latium, and to have conquered the aboriginal occupants of the site of Rome. Prof. Ridgeway ("*Who were the Romans?*" *Br. Acad. Proc.*, vol. III.) maintains that the Roman patricians were of Sabine stock, while the plebeians represent the conquered Aborigines.

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INTRODUCTION

I

Early Samnite history and the First Samnite War.

Tradition, which has been substantially confirmed by archaeological and ethnological research, states that at an early period a large part of northern and central Italy was occupied by the Umbrians, who descended from the Alpine regions and drove before them the 'aboriginal' inhabitants. An Umbrian tribe, the Sabini, settled in the small district east of the Tiber, from the neighbourhood of Reate to the junction of the Tiber and the Anio[1]. The main body of the Umbrians was dislodged, chiefly by the Etruscans, from most of its possessions, and finally survived as an independent people only in the district known in historical times as Umbria. The Sabini, however, sent out branches over central Italy. These Sabellian tribes, as they were called, inhabited mountainous, inaccessible districts, and, unlike their brother Umbrians, suffered little from the incursions of the Etruscans and subsequently of the Gauls. The chief Sabellian people was known as the Samnites. Their four

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cantons, the Caraceni, the Pentri, the Caudini, and the Hirpini, occupied the central mountainous country from the upper reaches of the Sagrus to those of the Volturnus. Other Sabellian offshoots were the Picentes and the Frentani[1], on the east coast, the warlike Marsi, in the region of the Fucine lake, and the Peligni (or Paeligni) and Vestini, who filled the remaining space between the Picentes and the Samnites proper.

Situated as they were in a country of wild mountains and valleys, the Samnites were naturally a pastoral people. Their flocks and herds grazed in the valleys during the cold season, and ascended higher and higher as the heat increased. Owing to their isolated position they had few dealings with the outside world, except when the fertile lands of their neighbours or the overcrowding of their population led them to make raids or immigrations to the west or the south. Even in their own land the mountain barriers kept the various sections of the people apart in more ways than one. Their valleys and slopes were dotted with hamlets, which formed a rallying-ground for the neighbouring herdsmen, but there were almost no towns. The four cantons were for the most part independent of one another, though sometimes representatives from all parts met in a federal assembly, chiefly to appoint a commander-in-chief for the whole people and to take concerted measures for the defence of their land. There was not, as in the case of Rome, a preponderating city to which all the Samnites looked as the centre of government. The want of such concentration kept them from building up a great nation. When new territory was acquired, it was acquired by a section of the people for itself, and the occupants of the new district maintained no political connexion with the mother-land.

The Samnites were a warlike race, and continual frays and forays developed their fighting instincts. Their valleys were not sufficient to feed their flocks during the six or seven months when the mountains were covered with snow ; thus the neighbouring plains were subject to frequent Samnite incursions ;

[1] The Frentani, however, were of mixed blood.

moreover the rich lowlands of such a country as Campania tempted successive bands of the mountaineers to settle there. Accordingly we find them at a comparatively early date making their way along the valley of the Volturnus. About 423 B.C. a band of Samnites captured the city of Volturnum, which was, like most of the surrounding country, inhabited by Etruscans. They treacherously murdered the townsmen, according to Livy[1], and called the newly-conquered city Capua. Not long afterwards the victors took Cumae, which was said to be the oldest Greek colony in Italy, and from that time they held the supremacy in Campania, calling themselves Campanians. Captive Campania, however, 'took captive her fierce conqueror,' for the Samnite settlers gradually absorbed the civilisation of their Greek subjects and imitated the Etruscans in their luxury and effeminacy, and in the cruelty of their gladiatorial shows. In a few towns, including Cumae, the older inhabitants regained the mastery about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Other bands of Samnites invaded the southern part of Italy about the time of the Campanian conquest, and mingling with the older inhabitants formed the nations of the Lucanians and the Apulians. These two peoples gave scant support to their kinsmen in the wars with Rome; Apulia in particular was inclined to the other side, for the Samnites showed themselves all too ready to disregard the ties of blood and invade the tempting region in the south-east. The Bruttians, who inhabited the 'toe' of Italy, consisted partly of later Sabellian invaders from Lucania. Thus by the middle of the fourth century men of Samnite stock had occupied the whole of lower Italy, with the exception of a few Greek cities (notably Tarentum) and a small part of southern Apulia.

While the Samnites were overrunning Campania and the south of Italy, Rome was doing a slower but more lasting work, subduing the neighbouring peoples, especially the Aequians and the Volscians, and ever confirming her conquests by the establishment of garrisons in the conquered districts. The

[1] IV. 37. 2.

Samnites of Campania, on the other hand, soon lost their native characteristics, as has already been pointed out, and came to look on the mountaineers of central Italy as inveterate foes. From time to time predatory bands of Samnite braves swarmed along the valley of the Volturnus, threatening the peace and security of their degenerate kinsmen. It was one of these forays that caused the first collision of the Romans with the most formidable Italian enemy they ever had to meet. In 343 B.C. an army of Samnites attacked the Sidicini of Teanum, in the north of Campania. With more zeal than discretion the people of Capua undertook to aid their neighbours. They had lost the prowess of their ancestors, and their feeble troops were twice defeated by the invaders, who established themselves on Mount Tifata, only a mile from Capua. The sole hope for the Campanians lay in an appeal for outside help, and only one power in Italy could encounter the Samnites with any prospect of success. Capua therefore appealed to Rome.

The struggle had to come sooner or later. After subduing the northern part of the Volscian territory the Romans had approached the Liris, and in 345 B.C. they had occupied Sora, a town situated on the upper part of that river, on the borders of the Marsi. In 354 B.C. a treaty of alliance had been concluded between the Romans and the Samnites, who had a common interest in the subjugation of the Volscians. If the league helped Rome it also helped the Samnites, who had already begun to pour down the valley of the Liris, harassing the Volscians. These invasions were continued, and the Roman advance from the other side, culminating in the occupation of Sora, rendered a collision inevitable. It was probably the desire to prevent the extension of Roman power to Campania that dictated the Samnite attack on the Sidicini.

When the appeal for aid reached the city, the Romans were in a quandary. They saw the necessity of checking the Samnite advance, but they could not overlook the alliance so recently made. The ingenuity of the Capuans devised a means of overcoming the Roman scruples. They made their city over to Rome, thus establishing a claim to protection. The Senate then

warned the Samnites to desist from attacking a city of the Romans. Thus, it is said, began the First Samnite War (B.C. 343–341). Mommsen doubts if there was a war[1]; if there was, we know nothing of its incidents, for the wonderful stories of Valerius Corvus and Decius Mus belong to the region of myth. But whether there was a contest of soldiers or merely of diplomats, the end was that Capua remained in the hands of Rome, while Teanum was given up to the Samnites, and most of the region of the upper Liris was left to the Volscians, though the Samnites recovered possession of Sora.

II

The second Samnite War to the end of the year 322 B.C.

Rome was glad to come to terms with the Samnites, for not only was she rent with civil dissensions, but the smouldering discontent of the Latin allies was bursting into flame. The grievances of the plebeians, after threatening destruction to the republic, were alleviated, chiefly through the agency of M. Valerius Corvus and Q. Publilius Philo, and peace was restored in the city. The great war which lasted from 340 to 338 B.C. resulted in the dissolution of the Latin League and the final establishment of Rome's supremacy among the Latins. The Samnites must have learned with much misgiving of the subjugation of Latium, and above all of the terms of friendly dependence which some of the most important Campanian cities, especially Capua and Cumae, were glad to receive from Rome at the end of the war. Subsequent events increased their alarm. Alexander of Epirus, invited by the Tarentines to cross the Adriatic and help them against the Lucanians, defeated a combined army of Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians near Paestum (332 B.C.). Thereupon Rome, it is recorded, made a

[1] *History of Rome*, Vol. I. p. 459 (Eng. Trans.), especially the footnote.

treaty with him; this, however, was made of no avail by the death of Alexander at Pandosia[1]. More important were the advances made by the Romans in the neighbourhood of the Samnite and Campanian frontiers. In 336 B.C. Cales, a town of the Aurunci, rose against Rome, and after its subjugation two years later a colony with Latin rights settled there, within easy reach of both Capua and Teanum. The Sidicini bitterly complained of what they termed a violation of the treaty made at the end of the First Samnite War, though they had actually helped the people of Cales in their rising.

The Samnites, continuing their habit of pressing down the valley of the Liris and plundering the Volscians, gave Rome a golden opportunity. In response to an appeal for help from the people of Fabrateria, near Fregellae, the Romans warned the invaders to desist from their incursions into the territory which the treaty of peace had left to the Volscians, and in order to secure compliance with their demand they sent a strong body of colonists in 328 B.C. to Fregellae, which had been destroyed by the Samnites. These advances, along with the foundation of a colony at Anxur, or Tarracina, gave the Romans the control of the routes by which the friendly territory of north Campania could be entered from Latium. Lastly, a Roman garrison was sent to Sora, which had been restored to the Samnites by the treaty.

Thus Rome was gradually making it more and more difficult for the Samnites to gain a footing in the Liris valley or in Campania, and the high-spirited highlanders were glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to join a Campanian people in resisting their great enemy. On the Bay of Naples was situated a Greek town, originally called Parthenope, and subsequently Palaepolis, or Palaeopolis (Old Town) to distinguish it from Neapolis (New Town), the modern Naples, which was founded in its neighbourhood. A number of Roman subjects in Campania had been attacked and maltreated by the people of Palaepolis, who refused the redress demanded by the Roman Senate and

[1] See n. on Liv. IX. 19. 11.

called upon the Samnites, as well as the friendly cities of Neapolis and Nola, to help them. War was declared, and four thousand Samnites came to defend Palaepolis[1]. When Q. Publilius Philo came from Rome to conduct the siege, he did not have to wait long before some of the Greek inhabitants treacherously admitted him into the town. The Samnite garrison fled, and Neapolis allied herself with Rome, whose position in Campania was thus rendered secure (326 B.C.) Meanwhile ambassadors had been sent to the Samnites to complain of their action in siding with Rome's enemies and breaking the treaty. The Samnites denied the accusation, and charged the Romans with violating the treaty by occupying Fregellae. It was hopeless to expect a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Both sides accepted the inevitable, and thus began the Second Samnite War (327–304 B.C.).

The Samnites entered upon the struggle almost single-handed. They seem to have had a strong garrison in Teanum, but after Neapolis had changed sides Rome could reckon on the support or, failing that, the neutrality of nearly all the important towns in Campania. Blood proved thicker than water in the case of the Sabellian tribes in the east, the Vestini, the Marrucini, and the Frentani. On the other hand, the Apulians had suffered so much from Samnite raids that they gladly went over to the Roman side, though the Greek cities in the south, especially Tarentum, held aloof. The Lucanians also concluded an alliance with Rome, and though they are said to have been induced by a stratagem to revoke it for a time, they never gave the Samnites much support. The Sabines and the Marsi were on friendly terms with Rome.

In 326 the Romans invaded the enemy's land and captured Rufrae and Allifae, near the Campanian frontier. In the following year the Vestini were reduced by the consul D. Iunius Brutus, while, if we are to believe our records, the other army,

[1] According to Livy this action put upon the Samnites the guilt of violating the treaty of peace made in 341 B.C., as they themselves were soon compelled to admit; see VIII. 23. 1 f., 39. 10; IX. 1. 3.

left temporarily in command of Q. Fabius, Master of the Horse to the dictator L. Papirius Cursor, inflicted such a crushing defeat on the enemy; near the Latian border, that they sued for peace; only a year's truce, however, was allowed. The history of this period of the struggle is, like that of the First Samnite War, obscured by a colouring of romance, and it is impossible to follow the records with any confidence. But the Romans had decidedly the better of the contest, and finally, we are told, reduced the Samnites to such straits that they once more sent ambassadors to sue for peace, and, in order to secure a favourable reply, sent back the prisoners and the plunder taken in the war, along with the dead body of Brutulus Papius, their bravest general and the leader of the Samnite war-party, who had committed suicide to avoid falling alive into the hands of the enemy. The Romans, however, demanded conditions so severe that the Samnites resolved to renew hostilities under the leadership of the famous Gavius Pontius (322 B.C.). The ninth book of Livy opens with the year 321, which proved to be one of the darkest years in Roman history.

III

The Authorities used by Livy.

The father of Roman history is said to have been Q. Fabius Pictor, who lived at the time of the Second Punic War. His history, which has perished, extended from Aeneas' landing in Italy to his own time. It was probably written in Greek, though a Latin version was written either by himself or by another Fabius. Before that time official and family records were the only sources from which a knowledge of Rome's past could be gained. Prominent among these were the *annales maximi*, a chronicle of the chief public events of each year, compiled by the Pontifex Maximus. These registers were copied and collected in a continuous record (not, it would seem, without

some falsification and interpolation) in the year 130 B.C.[1], when the pontifical chronicle was stopped. They contained lists of magistrates and brief notices of prominent incidents, such as battles, treaties, and prodigies[2]. There were also official lists of magistrates and of triumphs[3] kept in the public archives. The prominent families possessed records of their forefathers in the form of chronicles, genealogical trees, inscriptions placed under the *imagines* (wax masks of ancestors kept in the *atrium*), and, last but not least, funeral orations (*laudationes funebres*). These were in many cases unreliable, and they were a fruitful cause of error in the Roman historians. Lastly, there were many official inscriptions on stone or bronze, containing laws, treaties, etc.

Livy seems to have used Fabius Pictor only at second hand, and mostly in his narrative of the Punic Wars. He does not seem to have made any use of L. Cincius Alimentus, a younger contemporary of Pictor, though he mentions him in XXI. 38. 3. He is content to use later authorities, and it is through them that he gets his knowledge not only of the earlier historians but of the monuments and documents mentioned in the last paragraph. In the first decade, and more particularly in Bks V.—X., his chief authorities are Calpurnius Piso, Valerius Antias, Claudius Quadrigarius, Licinius Macer, and Aelius Tubero.

L. Calpurnius Piso, surnamed Frugi, was tribune of the plebs in 149, consul in 133, and censor probably in 120 B.C. He is well-known as the institutor of the first *quaestio perpetua*

[1] Or possibly a little later. P. Mucius Scaevola, who was doubtless responsible for the collected publication, as well as for the stopping of the pontifical *annales*, was Pontifex Maximus from 130 till his death in 114 B.C.

[2] The *annales maximi* were, like most of the monuments of Rome's history, destroyed in 390 B.C., when Rome was burned by the Gauls. An attempt was made to restore the record of events previous to that date by the aid of personal recollections and of tradition.

[3] *Fasti consulares*, *fasti triumphales*, etc. For the *libri lintei* see n. on c. 18. 12.

(for cases of extortion in the provinces) and as a strenuous opponent of the Gracchi. His *Annales* began perhaps with Aeneas, and extended at least to the year 146. They were written in a dry, matter-of-fact style, and were for the most part a mere "dishing up" of the pontifical records, where these were available[1]. From Livy IX. c. 20, which is almost certainly taken with very little change from Piso, we may form a good idea of his manner of writing. In c. 26. 1—5 there is another good example of the same style. Piso seems to have followed his authority with the honesty to which he owed his surname of Frugi.

Valerius Antias, whose history was probably not completed before 80 B.C., marks an advance on Piso in quantity, if not in quality. His work showed in its point of view and in other ways the influence, whether direct or not, of the *annales maximi*, but he used some other public documents, as well as tradition and, it would seem, his own imagination, and thus made his narrative much fuller than that of Piso. Livy at first followed him with confidence, but afterwards learned to suspect him[2]. Chapters 21 and 25 of Book IX. may reasonably be given as specimens of Antias' style[3].

Deliberate invention and rhetorical embellishment are carried much farther by Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, an annalist of the Sullan era, from whom Livy derives, among other things, a considerable part of the full narratives of campaigns found in Bks VIII. and IX. Cicero is indebted to the same historian in his frequent references to events in Roman history. Claudius' work, which began with the burning of Rome by the Gauls, was not available for Livy's first decade, and even in the second decade it is not used nearly as much as the afore-mentioned representatives of the pontifical version and Macer and Tubero. From the latter two Livy derived all the knowledge he had of the *libri lintei*.

[1] Soltau, *Livius' Geschichtswerk*, p. 85 ff.

[2] See, for example, XXXIII. 10. 8 *si Valerio qui credat, omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti*.

[3] According to Soltau.

C. Licinius Macer was *tribunus plebis* in 73 B.C. He was a bitter opponent of the optimate supremacy and a zealous champion of the plebs and of the people's liberty. The struggles through which he had to pass left their mark on his annals, which reflect the feelings of the oppressed democrats after Sulla's death. In 66 B.C. he was arraigned before Cicero, who was then praetor, on a charge of extortion in his praetorian province, and being condemned he committed suicide. In his history he set himself the task of investigating the least known times in Rome's past, and of describing those struggles (especially the contests for plebeian rights and liberties) which were most important in the eyes of his party[1]. We can hardly doubt that the attack on Appius in Livy IX. 33. 3—9 is taken from his work.

Very different in his political attitude was L. Aelius Tubero, a close friend of Cicero, whose sister he married. Moreover, he was doubtless a friend of Varro and Atticus, who first made a systematic investigation into the history of individual *gentes*. Thus where Livy gives us information based on a special knowledge of family history, we may generally trace it to Varro and Atticus through Tubero.

Family traditions and carefully preserved funeral orations dealing with members of the great houses were extant in abundance. They were, however, full of exaggeration and falsehood, and formed a very precarious foundation for history. Both Macer and Tubero, but especially the former, used the records of the Fabii, and thus we can account for the overshadowing of the consuls by Q. Fabius in c. 22, for the glorification of C. Fabius in c. 23, and for the long list of Fabian achievements—almost bristling with inconsistencies and impossibilities—which fills most of the chapters from 35 to 42. There are also clear enough traces of a Decii-tradition in c. 40 and especially c. 41.

The following table gives the results of Soltau's investigation of the sources of Book IX. It cannot, of course, be considered certain.

[1] Soltau, p. 107.

C. 1. 1—3. 7. Claudius.
3. 8—12. 4. Tubero.
5. 3. Claudius.
12. 5—8. Antias.
12. 9—15. 8. Tubero.
16. Tubero.
20. Piso.
21. Antias.
22, 23. Macer (also 22 Claudius).
24. Claudius.
24. Antias.
26. 1—5. Piso.
26. 5—22. Macer.
27. 1—28. 1. Macer or Claudius?
28. 2—30. 10. Antias (28. 5—6 Macer).
31. 1—33. 2. Claudius.

C. 33. 3—34. 26 (except speeches). Macer.
35. Macer?
36. 1—37. 10. Claudius.
37. 11—12 (variants). Macer and Antias.
38. 1—3. Antias.
38. 4—39. 11. Macer.
40. 1—17. Tubero.
40. 18—41. 7. Antias.
41. 8—20. Macer?
42. Antias (3—6 f. Macer).
43. 1—21. Macer?
43. 22—44. 2. Antias.
44. 3—6. (Piso.)
44. 7—15. Macer?
44. 16—45. 18. Antias.
46. Piso (3—7 Macer).

Livy seems to draw on poetical sources far more frequently than has hitherto been realised; see notes on c. 19. 15—17 and c. 32. 5 in this edition.

IV

The Value of Livy.

We have seen that there is no evidence that Livy consulted any original documents, public or private. Even when Macer and Tubero differ about the contents of the *libri lintei*, he does not think it worth while to go to the temple of Juno and settle the question[1]. He follows, and very often transcribes, one annalist or another, and frequently shows poor discrimination in the choice of his authority. Where he notes a difference between his authorities he is generally content to give the alternative version without comment, introduced by such phrases as *quibusdam in annalibus invenio*, *invenio apud quosdam*[2].

[1] IV. 23. 2.

[2] *e.g.* in Bk IX. c. 15. 8, 23. 5, 42. 3, 46. 2; cf. 28. 6, 37. 11, 44. 7 and 8, 46. 2.

In many cases he gives precedence to an incorrect version, as in c. 44, where we have the correct story appended in § 15 and attributed to *quidam auctores*. When he expresses a preference for some version, it is often because that account suits his bias or his general ideas of probability, though he has the common sense to give special weight to contemporary evidence[1]. Absurdities in his authorities often cause him no uneasiness. In c. 20, §§ 4 and 7, we have the same event recorded under two different years, and, as has already been pointed out, the record of the wonderful achievements of the Fabii in c. 35 ff. is full of questionable and inconsistent elements. Livy's chronology is often unnecessarily careless. He nowhere shows an acquaintance with the places mentioned in his history, though some of them were within easy reach of him, and his ignorance of military matters is colossal.

It is clear, then, that Livy was far from being what is now called a scientific historian. The conception of history as a science is a modern growth, which lays stress on a very important function of the historian, but must not be pressed too far. History cannot be a science in the sense in which physics or chemistry is a science. The physicist and the chemist deal with constant phenomena, with effects which are regularly produced as often as the same causes are set to work. But the material and the method of history are different. It has to deal with the story of men, whose infinite variety has produced an infinite number of results, which are never repeated in exactly the same form. It is true that the historian must take the best means of ascertaining the truth about peoples, political movements, and the thousand and one developments which civilisation has assumed; he must therefore study the oldest records, official documents of all kinds, and the indications of archaeology, of ethnology, and of language; and he must balance and test his evidence with the utmost care. He may occasionally also attempt to draw general conclusions, though

[1] *e.g.* XXII. 7. 4 *Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui.*

here he must remember that the so-called facts of history are not absolute facts, which can be interpreted in only one way, and that even if there be such things as social laws working inevitably in the world, the historian is hampered in the effort to deduce them by the necessity of basing them on assumptions and by the limited scope of his vision, which cannot embrace all peoples, places and times[1]. It is in these respects, and these only, that history has any claim to be a science, and even in these respects it is at best an empirical, and not an exact science.

But, after all, duly ascertained 'facts' are only the scaffolding, which is removed when the building is completed[2]. The historian must remember that if the results of his study are to be an influence in the world he must present them in an appropriate dress. A statistician's year-book is not a history. However vividly a historical investigator may see things for himself, his labours are of comparatively little value if he cannot make others see as he sees and feel as he feels. Cicero was sensible of this when he described history as 'preeminently an orator's work[3].' He realised that most of the Roman historians of his own and of earlier times had given too little attention to style, so that their works fell flat. He recognizes the necessity of truthfulness in the writer of history: *ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*[4], is the rule which he enunciates. But above all history, to be effective, must be written in an effective style, and the only effective style which he knew was that of oratory.

Systematic training in rhetoric with a view primarily and almost solely to public speaking had developed and expanded from the beginning of the last century of the pagan era, and it was from the professional rhetoricians and from eminent orators that the young Roman learned what he knew of prose style.

[1] See Mark Pattison in *Westminster Review* for 1857 (*Essays*, vol. II. p. 419 ff.).

[2] Taine, cited by Boissier, *Tacite*, p. 61.

[3] *De Leg.* I. 2. 5 *quippe cum sit opus...unum hoc oratorium maxime.*

[4] *De Orat.* II. 15. 62.

When the free life of the Republic was ended and liberty of speech began to wane, the *rhetores* retained and indeed greatly increased their influence. Thus all the best Latin prose and much of Latin poetry has a strong rhetorical tinge. Livy is supposed by some to have even taught rhetoric; in any case there is no doubt that he was skilled in all the artifices of the rhetorical schools. He was doubtless aware of his abilities in this direction, and he decided to use them in the noble task of tracing Rome's greatness. He had a profound sense of the majesty of the Roman empire and of the qualities which had made Rome what she was, the mistress of the world. *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*, says Ennius, and the whole history of Livy is a commentary on the words. 'Three armed men could ward off any number on this slope; you are ten in number, and what is more important, you are Romans' (c. 24. 8). 'What place is impregnable in the face of Roman valour?' (c. 31. 13). 'But wherever the battle took place, the Roman might prevailed' (c. 37. 12). Such sentences from Bk IX. are typical of the feeling which pervades not only that book but the whole work. In XXX. 42. 16, 17 we have one of many eloquent expressions of his belief in Rome's true greatness; in § 17 the words *plus paene parcendo victis quam vincendo imperium auxisse* [*populum Romanum*] inevitably recall Vergil's *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (*Aen.* VI. 854). If he could present to Rome a memorable record of her past, if he could enshrine in the hearts of the citizens for ever the great men and noble deeds of former times, if he could impress upon them the sacredness of the heritage which it was their duty and privilege to preserve, then his aim would be achieved. For this purpose he deemed it sufficient to take the literary records which were ready to hand. He saw contradictions and sometimes impossibilities in them, and frankly tells us so. If he did not go to original sources, it was not because he was careless about the truth, but merely because the custom of his day did not demand such work from a historian, and because his authorities seemed quite sufficient for his purpose.

And he has accomplished his object. He is recognized as

one of the world's greatest historians. From Quintilian to Dante, from Petrarch to the most modern of the moderns, men of the highest eminence in literature and history have sounded his praises. He is rhetorical, and his rhetorical instinct may have led him to add unnecessary colour here and there, and to put some things in a wrong perspective. He is patriotic, and his patriotism may have led him sometimes to do scant justice to Rome's great enemies, as in the cases of the Samnites and the Carthaginians. But it is to his eloquence and his patriotism, along with his insight into character, that he owes his greatness. Even the many speeches which he introduced, according to the fashion of the day, though they are almost wholly invented by himself, are quite in unison with his purpose. Nowadays we should confine such things to historical novels, but Livy's work is at once a history and a historical romance, and the speeches, breathing as they do the true Roman spirit which he, like Augustus, Horace, and Vergil, was so anxious to preserve at a critical period in Rome's existence, serve in no small degree to add impressiveness to the narrative. Livy's work must be judged by its effect, and there is no doubt that he and Vergil stand before the world as the two men who have, far more than any others, possessed the minds of their readers with the 'sense sublime' of Rome's character and her mission in the world.

With these few words of introduction we may now leave Livy to speak for himself, and in Bk IX. we may find an answer to Ennius' question—

Quis potis ingentis oras evolvere belli?

TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER IX.

B.C. 321. *Year of the Caudine disaster. C. Pontius elected com-* 1
*mander-in-chief of the Samnites. His speech. "The Romans by
rejecting the overtures of the Samnites accompanied by acts of most
ample compensation, had fairly diverted upon themselves any divine
wrath that the Samnites had incurred before by breaking the treaty"*
(VIII. 39, 10).

SEQUITUR hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina
pax T. Veturio Calvino, Sp. Postumio consulibus. Samnites 2
eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium Herennii filium habuerunt,
patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem
ducemque. is, ubi legati, qui ad dedendas res missi erant, 3
pace infecta redierunt, "Ne nihil actum" inquit "hac lega-
tione censeatis, expiatum est, quicquid ex foedere rupto
irarum in nos caelestium fuit. satis scio, quibuscumque dis 4
cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res, quae ab
nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam
superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam. quid 5
enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos mitigandosque homines
potuit, quam quod nos fecimus? res hostium in praeda
captas, quae belli iure nostrae videbantur, remisimus;

6 auctores belli, quia vivos non potuimus, perfunctos iam fato
dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae re-
7 maneret penes nos, Romam portavimus. quid ultra tibi,
Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debeo?
quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iu-
dicem feram? neminem neque populum neque privatum
8 fugio. quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relin-
quitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae superbiae
9 confugiam et precabor, ut iras suas vertant in eos, quibus
non suae redditae res, non alienae accumulatae satis sint;
quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum, non deditio exanima-
torum corporum, non bona sequentia domini deditionem
exsatient, *qui* placari nequeant, nisi hauriendum sanguinem
10 laniandaque viscera nostra praebuerimus. iustum est bellum,
Samnites, quibus necessarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi
11 in armis relinquitur spes. proinde, cum rerum humana-
rum maximum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam
adversis agant dis, pro certo habete, priora bella adversus
deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc, quod instat, du-
cibus ipsis dis gesturos."

2 *The Roman generals misled by false information that Luceria is being besieged, take the road thither through the* Furculae Caudinae, *and find themselves entrapped in a valley, bounded at each end by mountain passes held by the enemy, with continuous mountains on each side. Despair of the soldiers, who nevertheless form a camp. Some are for cutting their way through the enemy, others point out the impossibility of escape.*

Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus, exercitu
educto, circa Caudium castra, quam potest occultissime,
2 locat. inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos cas-
traque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit,
pecoraque diversos, alium alibi, haud procul Romanis pas-

cere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint in praedatores, ut idem 3
omnibus sermo constet, legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse,
Luceriam omnibus copiis circumsedere, nec procul abesse,
quin vi capiant. iam is [et] rumor ante de industria vulgatus 4
venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captivi, eo maxime,
quod sermo inter omnes congruebat. haud erat dubium, 5
quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus
sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem defi-
ceret; ea modo, qua irent, consultatio fuit. duae ad Lu- 6
ceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens
apertaque, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere longior, altera per
Furculas Caudinas, brevior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus 7
duo alti, angusti silvosique sunt, montibus circa perpetuis
inter se iuncti. iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio
campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; sed 8
antequam venias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt
et aut eadem, qua te insinuaveris, retro via repetenda aut,
si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorem impeditio-
remque evadendum. in eum campum via alia per cavam 9
rupem Romani demisso agmine cum ad alias angustias
protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque
ingentium obiacente mole invenere. cum fraus hostilis
apparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo saltu conspicitur.
citati inde retro, qua venerant, pergunt repetere viam; eam 10
quoque clausam sua obice armisque inveniunt. sistunt
inde gradum sine ullius imperio, stuporque omnium animos
ac velut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque 11
alii alios, cum alterum quisque compotem magis mentis ac
consilii ducerent, diu immobiles silent; deinde, ubi prae- 12
toria consulum erigi videre et expedire quosdam utilia operi,
quanquam ludibrio fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe
omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne culpam malis adderent, 13
pro se quisque, nec hortante ullo nec imperante, ad munien-

14 dum versi castra propter aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi
opera laboremque irritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe
15 increpabant, cum miserabili confessione eludentes. ad con-
sules maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando
nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac
tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi opem,
quam vix di immortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt.
3 querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, cum pro
ingenio quisque fremerent, alius: "Per obices viarum, per
adversa montium, per silvas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus,
2 modo ad hostem pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope
triginta vincimus: omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in
3 perfidum Samnitem pugnanti"; alius: "Quo aut qua eamus?
num montes moliri sede sua paramus? dum haec immine-
bunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem venies? armati, inermes,
fortes, ignavi, pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus; ne
ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis;
4 sedens bellum conficiet." his in vicem sermonibus qua
cibi, qua quietis immemor nox traducta est.

The Samnites in doubt how to use their advantage consult the father of Pontius. His reply to the first messengers sent is, "Dismiss them with honour," to the second, "Kill them all." Being sent for to the camp to explain his conflicting sentiments, he gives his reasons for thinking that no third course was open to them.

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis suppetebat
rebus; itaque universi Herennium Pontium, patrem impera-
5 toris, per litteras consulendum censent. iam is gravis annis
non militaribus solum, sed civilibus quoque abscesserat
muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto vigebat vis animi con-
6 siliique. is ubi accepit, ad Furculas Caudinas inter duos
saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus ab nuntio
filii censuit, omnes inde quam primum inviolatos dimit-

tendos. quae ubi spreta sententia est, iterumque eodem 7
remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit, ad unum omnes inter-
ficiendos. quae ubi tam discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti 8
oraculo responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis
iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore
rebatur, tamen consensu omnium victus est, ut ipsum in
consilium acciret. nec gravatus senex plaustro in castra 9
dicitur advectus, vocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus
esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adi-
ceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potent- 10
issimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare
pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates,
quibus, amissis duobus exercitibus, haud facile receptura
vires Romana res *esset*, bellum differre; tertium nullum con-
silium esse. cum filius aliique principes percontando ex- 11
sequerentur, quid, si media via consilii caperetur, ut et
dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis impone-
rentur, "Ista quidem sententia" inquit "ea est, quae neque 12
amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. servate modo, quos igno-
minia irritaveritis; ea est Romana gens, quae victa quies-
cere nesciat. vivet semper in pectoribus illorum, quicquid 13
istuc praesens necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multiplices
poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet."

His advice rejected. The Romans after fruitless attempts to escape are reduced to sue for peace. The terms offered, that the Roman army should be passed under the yoke, the Samnite territory evacuated and all Roman colonies withdrawn. Horror of the soldiers. Lentulus demonstrates the necessity of accepting the terms. 4

Neutra sententia accepta, Herennius domum e castris
est avectus; et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi co-
natus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium rerum
inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos mittunt, qui primum 2

pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non impetrarent, uti
3 provocarent ad pugnam. tum Pontius debellatum esse
respondit, et, quoniam ne victi quidem ac capti fortunam
fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum
missurum; alias condiciones pacis aequas victis ac vic-
4 toribus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abdu-
cerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo
5 foedere victurum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus
cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos
6 redire ad se vetuit. haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus
gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia in-
cessit, ut non gravius accepturi viderentur, si nuntiaretur,
7 omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam esse. cum diu si-
lentium fuisset, nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut
contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, tum L. Len-
tulus, qui [tum] princeps legatorum virtute atque honoribus
8 erat, "Patrem meum" inquit, "consules, saepe audivi memo-
rantem, se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui
redimendae auro a Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa vallo-
que ab ignavissimo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi
essent et erumpere, si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine
9 certa pernicie possent. quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capi-
tolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in
obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimi-
candi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non mihi paterni
10 animi indoles in consilio dando deesset. equidem mortem
pro patria praeclaram esse fateor, et me vel devovere pro
populo Romano legionibusque vel in medios [me] immittere
11 hostes paratus sum; sed hic patriam video, hic quicquid
Romanarum legionum est; quae nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem
12 ruere volunt, quid habent, quod morte sua servent? tecta
urbis, dicat aliquis, et moenia et eam turbam, a qua urbs
incolitur. immo hercule produntur ea omnia, deleto hoc

exercitu, non servantur. quis enim ea tuebitur? imbellis 13
videlicet atque inermis multitudo. tam hercule, quam a
Gallorum impetu defendit. an a Veiis exercitum Camil- 14
lumque ducem implorabunt? hic omnes spes opesque
sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem
patriam deserimus ac prodimus. at foeda atque ignominiosa
deditio est. sed ea caritas patriae est, ut tam ignominia 15
eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. subeatur 16
ergo ista, quantacunque est, indignitas et pareatur necessi-
tati, quam ne di quidem superant. ite, consules, redimite
armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt."

The consuls make peace. Facts adduced to show that it was not made foedere, *but* per sponsionem. *Indignation of the soldiers against the consuls.* 5

Consules profecti ad Pontium in colloquium, cum de
foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri
posse, nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia sollemni. ita- 2
que non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit,
foedere pax Caudina, sed per sponsionem facta est. quid 3
enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus,
ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat, quo
minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat,
quem ad modum a fetialibus porcus feriatur? spoponderunt 4
consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, nominaque
omnium, qui spoponderunt, exstant, ubi, si ex foedere acta
res esset, praeterquam duorum fetialium non exstarent; et 5
propter necessariam foederis dilationem obsides etiam ses
centi equites imperati, qui capite luerent, si pacto non
staretur. tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exer- 6
cituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus, ut
vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum

locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde, quam
7 venissent, abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non explora-
torem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam lapsos.
8 alii alios intueri; contemplari arma mox tradenda et in-
ermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere
sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et
9 vultus superbos et per armatos inermium iter, inde foedi
agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in
patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum
10 triumphantes venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro,
sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non
manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam animos datos.

The Roman army is passed under the yoke. They reach Capua, the inhabitants of which press hospitality upon them. Opinions in Capua on the meaning of the gloomy and obstinate silence maintained by the Romans.

At Rome when rumours of the disaster are confirmed, all the usual forms of public mourning are observed. The consuls refusing to act nominate a dictator. The election being vitiated, a second dictator is elected. He takes no steps to hold the comitia *and an* interregnum *ensues. Ultimately Q. Publilius Philo and L. Papirius Cursor are elected and enter on their office the same day they are elected.*

11 Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia
tristiora experiundo factura, quam quae praeceperant animis.
12 iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum
exire iussi, et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam
13 abducti. tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paluda-
mentaque detracta; *id* tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante
eos exsecrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, mise-
14 rationem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa
deformatione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo
6 averteret oculos. primi consules prope seminudi sub

iugum missi; tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita
ignominiae obiectus; tum deinceps singulae legiones. cir- 2
cumstabant armati hostes, exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii
etiam plerisque intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si
vultus eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset.
ita traducti sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat, per 3
hostium oculos, cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis
extracti tum primum lucem adspicere visi sunt, tamen ipsa
lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit.
itaque cum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent, in- 4
certi de fide sociorum, et quod pudor praepediebat, circa
viam haud procul Capua omnium egena corpora humi pros-
traverunt. quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit mise- 5
ratio iusta sociorum superbiam ingenitam Campanis. con- 6
festim insignia sua consulibus, fasces lictoribus, arma,
equos, vestimenta, commeatus militibus benigne mittunt;
et venientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam 7
egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis
fungitur officiis. neque illis sociorum comitas vultusque 8
benigni et alloquia non modo sermonem elicere, sed ne ut
oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos contra
intuerentur, efficere poterant; adeo super maerorem pudor 9
quidam fugere colloquia et coetus hominum cogebat. pos- 10
tero die cum iuvenes nobiles, missi a Capua, ut proficis-
centes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur, revertissent,
vocatique in curiam percontantibus maioribus natu, multo 11
sibi maestiores et abiectioris animi visos, referrent: adeo
silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse; iacere indolem 12
illam Romanam, ablatosque cum armis animos; non red-
dere salutem salutantibus, non dare responsum, non hiscere
quemquam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc
cervicibus iugum, sub quod missi essent; habere Samnites 13
victoriam non praeclaram solum, sed etiam perpetuam;

cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos, sed, quod
multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem ferociamque—
7 cum haec dicerentur audirenturque, et deploratum paene
2 Romanum nomen in concilio sociorum fidelium esset, dicitur
Ofillius Calavius Ovi filius, clarus genere factisque, tum
etiam aetate verendus, longe aliter se habere rem dixisse:
3 silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et
surdas ad omnia solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis
ingentem molem irarum ex alto animi cientis indicia esse.
4 aut Romana se ignorare ingenia, aut silentium illud Samni-
tibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudi-
naeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis tris-
5 tiorem memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum
animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus Cau-
dinos non ubique Samnitibus fore.

6 Iam Romae etiam sua infamis clades erat. obsessos
primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis magis
7 quam periculi nuntius fuit. ad famam obsidionis dilectus
haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum apparatus,
postquam deditionem tam foede factam acceperunt; ex-
temploque sine ulla publica auctoritate consensum in
8 omnem formam luctus est. tabernae circa forum clausae
iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam in-
9 dictum; lati clavi, anuli aurei positi; paene maestior exer-
citu ipso civitas esse; nec ducibus solum atque auctoribus
sponsoribusque pacis irasci, sed innoxios etiam milites
10 odisse et negare urbe tectisve accipiendos. quam con-
citationem animorum fregit adventus exercitus etiam iratis
miserabilis. non enim tamquam in patriam revertentes ex
11 insperato incolumes, sed captorum habitu vultuque ingressi
sero in urbem ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt, ut
postero atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum aut
12 publicum adspicere vellet. consules in privato abditi nihil

pro magistratu agere, nisi quod expressum senatus con-
sulto est, ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum causa. Q. 13
Fabium Ambustum dixerunt, et P. Aelium Paetum magi-
strum equitum; quibus vitio creatis suffecti M. Aemilius 14
Papus dictator, L. Valerius Flaccus magister equitum. nec
per eos comitia habita; et quia taedebat populum omnium
magistratuum eius anni, res ad interregnum rediit. inter-
reges Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Valerius Corvus. is con- 15
sules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem *tertium* et L. Papirium
Cursorem iterum, haud dubio consensu civitatis, quod nulli
ea tempestate duces clariores essent.

B.C. 320. *Debate in the senate. Sp. Postumius* (c. 1. § 1) *demands* 8
that those who had signed the engagement should be surrendered to the Samnites, which would cancel all obligation to make a treaty.

Quo creati sunt die, eo (sic enim placuerat patribus)
magistratum inierunt, sollemnibusque senatus consultis per-
fectis, de pace Caudina rettulerunt; et Publilius, penes 2
quem fasces erant, "Dic, Sp. Postumi" inquit. qui ubi
surrexit, eodem illo vultu, quo sub iugum missus erat,
"Haud sum ignarus" inquit, "consules, ignominiae, non 3
honoris causa me primum excitatum iussumque dicere, non
tamquam senatorem, sed tamquam reum qua infelicis belli,
qua ignominiosae pacis. ego tamen, quando neque de 4
noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione,
quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum
humanarum necessitatiumque, sententiam de eo, de quo
rettulistis, paucis peragam, quae sententia testis erit, mihine
an legionibus vestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu
necessaria sponsione obstrinxi, qua tamen, quando iniussu 5
populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quic-
quam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur Sam-

6 nitibus. dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus
religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini
humanive obstet, quo minus iustum piumque de integro
7 ineatur bellum. interea consules exercitum scribere, ar-
mare, educere placet, nec prius ingredi hostium fines,
quam omnia iusta in deditionem nostram perfecta erunt.
8 vos, di immortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit
cordi, Sp. Postumium, T. Veturium consules cum Sam-
9 nitibus prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse
nos sub iugum missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos,
videre nudos vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram
10 hostium nostris capitibus excipientes; novos consules legio-
nesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis, ut
11 omnia ante nos consules bella gesta sunt." quae ubi dixit,
tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri incessit homines, ut
12 modo vix crederent, illum eundem esse Sp. Postumium, qui
auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo miserarentur, quod
vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes supplicium passurus
esset ob iram diremptae pacis.

This proposal is on the point of being carried when the tribunes of the plebs (see note) object, that (1) *the Romans will not be released from their obligation unless the* status quo ante *is restored*, (2) *they do not deserve punishment for saving the army*, (3) *they are sacrosanct. Postumius refutes them. They give way, and the officers are handed over to the Fetials to be delivered to the Samnites. An army follows the Fetials to Caudium. There Postumius, delivered with the rest to the Samnites, assumes himself to be a Samnite and assaults the Fetial by way of justifying the Romans in recommencing war.*

13 Cum omnes laudibus modo prosequentes virum in
sententiam eius pedibus irent, temptata paulisper intercessio
14 est ab L. Livio et Q. Maelio tribunis plebis, qui neque
exsolvi religione populum aiebant deditione sua, nisi omnia

Samnitibus, qualia apud Caudium fuissent, restituerentur, 15
neque se pro eo, quod spondendo pacem servassent exer-
citum populi Romani, poenam ullam meritos esse, neque
ad extremum, cum sacrosancti essent, dedi hostibus viola-
rive posse. tum Postumius "Interea dedite" inquit "pro- **9**
fanos nos, quos salva religione potestis; dedetis deinde et 2
istos sacrosanctos, cum primum magistratu abierint, sed, si
me audiatis, prius quam dedantur, hic in comitio virgis
caesos, hanc iam ut intercalatae poenae usuram habeant.
nam quod deditione nostra negant exsolvi religione populum, 3
id istos magis, ne dedantur, quam quia ita se res habeat,
dicere, quis adeo iuris fetialium expers est, qui ignoret?
neque ego infitias eo, patres conscripti, tam sponsiones 4
quam foedera sancta esse apud eos homines, apud quos
iuxta divinas religiones fides humana colitur; sed iniussu
populi nego quicquam sanciri posse, quod populum teneat.
an, si eadem superbia, qua sponsionem istam expresserunt 5
nobis Samnites, coegissent nos verba legitima dedentium
urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum vos tribuni
diceretis, et hanc urbem, templa, delubra, fines, aquas
Samnitium esse? omitto deditionem, quoniam de sponsione 6
agitur; quid tandem, si spopondissemus, urbem hanc re-
licturum populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magis-
tratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si sub regibus
futurum? di meliora, inquis. atqui non indignitas rerum 7
sponsionis vinculum levat; si quid est, in quod obligari
populus possit, in omnia potest. et ne illud quidem, quod
quosdam forsitan moveat, refert, consul an dictator an
praetor spoponderit. et hoc ipsi etiam Samnites iudi- 8
caverunt, quibus non fuit satis, consules spondere, sed
legatos, quaestores, tribunos militum spondere coegerunt.
nec a me nunc quisquam quaesiverit, quid ita spoponderim, 9
cum id nec consulis ius esset, nec illis spondere pacem,

quae mei non erat arbitrii, [nec] pro vobis, qui nihil man-
10 daveratis, possem. nihil ad Caudium, patres conscripti,
humanis consiliis gestum est; di immortales et vestris et
11 hostium imperatoribus mentem ademerunt. nec nos in
bello satis cavimus, et illi male partam victoriam male
perdiderunt, dum vix locis, quibus vicerant, credunt, dum
quacunque condicione arma viris in arma natis auferre festi-
12 nant. an, si sana mens fuisset, difficile illis fuit, dum senes
ab domo ad consultandum accersunt, mittere Romam
legatos? cum senatu, cum populo de pace ac foedere agere?
13 tridui iter expeditis erat; interea in indutiis res fuisset,
donec ab Roma legati aut victoriam illis certam aut pacem
adferrent. ea demum sponsio esset, quam populi iussu
14 spopondissemus. sed neque vos tulissetis, nec nos spopon-
dissemus; nec fas fuit alium rerum exitum esse, quam ut
illi velut somnio laetiore, quam quod mentes eorum capere
15 possent, nequiquam eluderentur, et nostrum exercitum
eadem, quae impedierat, fortuna expediret, vanam victo-
riam vanior inritam faceret pax, sponsio interponeretur,
16 quae neminem praeter sponsorem obligaret. quid enim
vobiscum, patres conscripti, quid cum populo Romano
actum est? quis vos appellare potest, quis se a vobis
dicere deceptum? hostis an civis? hosti nihil spopondistis,
17 civem neminem spondere pro vobis iussistis. nihil ergo
vobis nec nobiscum est, quibus nihil mandastis, nec cum
18 Samnitibus, cum quibus nihil egistis. Samnitibus sponsores
nos sumus rei satis locupletes in id, quod nostrum est, in
id, quod praestare possumus, corpora nostra et animos; in
19 haec saeviant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant. quod ad
tribunos attinet, consulite, utrum praesens deditio eorum
fieri possit an in diem differatur; nos interim, T. Veturi
vosque ceteri, vilia haec capita luendae sponsioni feramus,
et nostro supplicio liberemus Romana arma."

Movit patres conscriptos cum causa, tum auctor, nec **10**
ceteros solum, sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in senatus
dicerent fore potestate. magistratu inde se extemplo abdi- 2
caverunt, traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caudium ducendi.
hoc senatus consulto facto lux quaedam adfulsisse civitati
visa est. Postumius in ore erat; eum laudibus ad caelum 3
ferebant, devotioni P. Deci consulis, aliis claris facinoribus
aequabant: emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace illius con- 4
silio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre
piaculaque pro populo Romano dare. arma cuncti spec- 5
tant et bellum: en umquam futurum, ut congredi armatis
cum Samnite liceat?

In civitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium 6
voluntariorum fuit; rescriptae ex eodem milite novae
legiones ductusque ad Caudium exercitus. praegressi feti- 7
ales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis sponsoribus
iubent, manus post tergum vinciri. cum apparitor vere-
cundia maiestatis Postumi laxe vinciret, "Quin tu" inquit
"adducis lorum, ut iusta fiat deditio?" tum ubi in coetum 8
Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum Ponti est, A. Cornelius
Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit: "quandoque hisce homines 9
iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spopon-
derunt atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem,
quo populus Romanus scelere impio sit solutus, hosce
homines vobis dedo." haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu 10
femur, quanta maxime poterat vi, perculit, et clara voce ait,
se Samnitem civem esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra
ius gentium violatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos.

Pontius in a dignified speech refuses to accept the prisoners or to release the Romans from their obligation. The prisoners return to their camp. **11**

Tum Pontius "Nec ego istam deditionem accipiam"

2 inquit, "nec Samnites ratam habebunt. quin tu, Sp. Pos-
tumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia inrita facis aut pacto
stas? Samniti populo omnes, quos in potestate habuit, aut
3 pro iis pax debetur. sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum
victori cum qua potes fide restituis? populum Romanum
appello, quem si sponsionis ad Furculas Caudinas factae
paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum, quo saeptae fuerunt.
4 nemo quemquam deceperit; omnia pro infecto sint; re-
cipiant arma, quae per pactionem tradiderunt; redeant in
castra sua; quicquid pridie habuerunt, quam in colloquium
est ventum, habeant; tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant,
5 tum sponsio et pax repudietur. ea fortuna, iis locis, quae
ante pacis mentionem habuimus, geramus bellum; nec
populus Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem
6 populi Romani accusemus. numquamne causa defiet, cur
victi pacto non stetis? obsides Porsinnae dedistis; furto
eos subduxistis. auro civitatem a Gallis redemistis; inter
7 accipiendum aurum caesi sunt. pacem nobiscum pepigistis,
ut legiones vobis captas restitueremus; eam pacem inritam
facitis. et semper aliquam fraudi speciem iuris imponitis.
8 non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones
servatas? pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori re-
stituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoniis
9 dignum erat. ut quidem tu, quod petisti per pactionem,
habeas, tot cives incolumes, ego pacem, quam hos tibi re-
mittendo pactus sum, non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc
10 vos, fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis? ego vero istos, quos dedi
simulatis, nec accipio nec dedi arbitror, nec moror, quo
minus in civitatem obligatam sponsione commissa iratis
11 omnibus dis, quorum eluditur numen, redeant. gerite
bellum, quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum fetialem
genu perculit. ita di credent, Samnitem civem Postumium,
non civem Romanum esse et a Samnite legatum Romanum

violatum: eo vobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum.
haec ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre, et 12
vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallendae
fidei exquirere! i, lictor, deme vincla Romanis; moratus 13
sit nemo, quo minus, ubi visum fuerit, abeant." et illi qui-
dem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide, ab Caudio
in castra Romana inviolati redierunt.

The Samnites regret that they rejected the advice of the elder Pontius. Satricum revolts to them and they take Fregellae, burning the inhabitants except a few who cut their way out of the city. 12

Samnitibus pro superba pace infestissimum cernentibus
renatum bellum omnia, quae deinde evenerunt, non in
animis solum, sed prope in oculis esse, et sero ac nequi- 2
quam laudare senis Ponti utraque consilia; inter quae se
media lapsos *via* victoriae possessionem pace incerta
mutasse; et beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa, pugna-
turos cum eis, quos potuerint in perpetuum vel inimicos
tollere vel amicos facere. adeoque, nullodum certamine 3
inclinatis viribus, post Caudinam pacem animi mutaverant,
ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam
Pontium incruenta victoria inter Samnites faceret, et geri 4
posse bellum Romani pro victoria certa haberent, Samnites
simul rebellasse et vicisse crederent Romanum.

Inter haec Satricani ad Samnites defecerunt, et Fregellae 5
colonia necopinato adventu Samnitium (fuisse et Satricanos
cum iis satis constat) nocte occupata est. timor inde
mutuus utrosque usque ad lucem quietos tenuit; lux pugnae 6
initium fuit, quam aliquamdiu aequam, et quia pro aris ac
focis dimicabatur, et quia ex tectis adiuvabat imbellis multi-
tudo, tamen Fregellani sustinuerunt. fraus deinde rem 7
inclinavit, quod vocem audiri praeconis passi sunt, in-

columem abiturum, qui arma posuisset. ea spes remisit a
8 certamine animos, et passim arma iactari coepta. pertinacior pars armata per aversam portam erupit, tutiorque eis audacia fuit quam incautus ad credendum ceteris pavor, quos circumdatos igni, nequiquam deos fidemque invocantes, Samnites concremaverunt.

Papirius with an army marches to Luceria; Publilius takes position in Samnium and wins a victory over the Caudine legions of the Samnites. Papirius meeting with no resistance (owing to the ill-treatment of the lowland Samnites by the highland), first reaches Arpi, thence proceeds to Luceria. He is there joined by Publilius. Together they force the Samnites before Luceria to an engagement by cutting off their supplies.

9 Consules inter se partiti provincias, Papirius in Apuliam
ad Luceriam pergit, ubi equites Romani obsides ad Caudium
dati custodiebantur, Publilius in Samnio substitit adversus
10 Caudinas legiones. distendit ea res Samnitium animos,
quod nec ad Luceriam ire, ne ab tergo instaret hostis, nec
manere, ne Luceria interim amitteretur, satis audebant.
11 optimum visum est committere rem fortunae et transigere
cum Publilio certamen; itaque in aciem copias éducunt.
13 adversus quos Publilius consul cum dimicaturus esset,
prius alloquendos milites ratus contionem advocari iussit;
ceterum sicut ingenti alacritate ad praetorium concursum est,
ita prae clamore poscentium pugnam nulla adhortatio im-
2 peratoris audita est; suus cuique animus memor ignominiae
adhortator aderat. vadunt igitur in proelium urgentes signi-
feros, et, ne mora in concursu pilis emittendis stringen-
disque inde gladiis esset, pila velut dato ad id signo abi-
3 ciunt, strictisque gladiis cursu in hostem feruntur. nihil
illic imperatoriae artis ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis fuit;
4 omnia ira militaris prope vesano impetu egit. itaque non

fusi modo hostes sunt, sed ne castris quidem suis fugam
impedire ausi Apuliam dissipati petiere; Luceriam tamen
coacto rursus in unum agmine est perventum. Romanos ira 5
eadem, quae per mediam aciem hostium tulerat, et in castra
pertulit. ibi plus quam in acie sanguinis ac caedis factum,
praedaeque pars maior ira corrupta.

Exercitus alter cum Papirio consule locis maritimis per- 6
venerat Arpos per omnia pacata, Samnitium magis iniuriis
et odio quam beneficio ullo populi Romani; nam Samnites, 7
ea tempestate in montibus vicatim habitantes, campestria
et maritima loca, contempto cultorum molliore atque, ut
evenit fere, locis simili genere, ipsi montani atque agrestes
depopulabantur. quae regio si fida Samnitibus fuisset, aut 8
pervenire Arpos exercitus Romanus nequisset, aut [interiecta
inter Romam et Arpos] penuria rerum omnium exclusos a
commeatibus absumpsisset. tum quoque profectos inde 9
ad Luceriam, iuxta obsidentes obsessosque inopia vexavit.
omnia ab Arpis Romanis suppeditabantur, ceterum adeo
exigue, ut militi occupato stationibus vigiliisque et opere
eques folliculis in castra ab Arpis frumentum veheret,
interdum occursu hostium cogeretur abiecto ex equo 10
frumento pugnare. obsessis, priusquam alter consul victore
exercitu advenit, et commeatus ex montibus Samnitium
invecti erant et auxilia intromissa; artiora omnia adventus 11
Publili fecit, qui, obsidione delegata in curam collegae,
vagus per agros cuncta infesta commeatibus hostium fece-
rat. itaque cum spes nulla esset diutius obsessos inopiam 12
laturos, coacti Samnites, qui ad Luceriam castra habebant,
undique contractis viribus signa cum Papirio conferre.

A Tarentine embassy warns both parties to desist from war. The **14**
*Romans reject the proposal. The Samnites wishing to conciliate
the Tarentines, refuse battle and are attacked in their camp and*

utterly routed. The massacre is stopped out of consideration for the Roman hostages in Luceria.

Per id tempus, parantibus utrisque se ad proelium, legati
Tarentini interveniunt, denuntiantes Samnitibus Romanis-
que, ut bellum omitterent: per utros stetisset, quo minus
discederetur ab armis, adversus eos se pro alteris pugna-
2 turos. ea legatione Papirius audita, perinde ac motus
dictis eorum cum collega se communicaturum respondit;
accitoque eo, cum tempus omne in apparatu pugnae con-
sumpsisset, collocutus de re haud dubia, signum pugnae
3 proposuit. agentibus divina humanaque, quae adsolent,
cum acie dimicandum est, consulibus Tarentini legati
occursare, responsum exspectantes; quibus Papirius ait:
4 "auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat; lita-
tum praeterea est egregie; auctoribus dis, ut videtis, ad
5 rem gerendam proficiscimur." signa inde ferri iussit et
copias eduxit, vanissimam increpans gentem, quae, suarum
impotens rerum prae domesticis seditionibus discordiisque,
6 aliis modum pacis ac belli facere aequum censeret. Samnites
ex parte altera, cum omnem curam belli remisissent, quia
aut pacem vere cupiebant, aut expediebat simulare, ut
Tarentinos sibi conciliarent, cum instructos repente ad
7 pugnam Romanos conspexissent, vociferari, se in auctoritate
Tarentinorum manere nec descendere in aciem nec extra
vallum arma ferre; deceptos potius, quodcunque casus
ferat, passuros, quam ut sprevisse pacis auctores Tarentinos
8 videantur. accipere se omen consules aiunt et eam precari
9 mentem hostibus, ut ne vallum quidem defendant. ipsi
inter se partitis copiis succedunt hostium munimentis, et
simul undique adorti, cum pars fossas explerent, pars velle-
rent vallum atque in fossas proruerent, nec virtus modo
insita, sed ira etiam exulceratos ignominia stimularet animos,
10 castra invasere; et pro se quisque, non haec furculas nec

Caudium nec saltus invios esse, ubi errorem fraus superbe
vicisset, sed Romanam virtutem, quam nec vallum nec
fossae arcerent, memorantes caedunt pariter resistentes
fusosque, inermes atque armatos, servos, liberos, puberes, 11
impubes, homines iumentaque; nec ullum superfuisset 12
animal, ni consules receptui signum dedissent avidosque
caedis milites e castris hostium imperio ac minis expulissent.
itaque apud infensos ob interpellatam dulcedinem irae con- 13
festim oratio habita est, ut doceretur miles, minime cui- 14
quam militum consules odio in hostes cessisse aut cessuros;
quin duces sicut belli, ita insatiabilis supplicii futuros fuisse,
ni respectus equitum sescentorum, qui Luceriae obsides
tenerentur, praepedisset animos, ne desperata venia hostes 15
caecos in supplicia eorum ageret, perdere prius quam perire
optantes. laudare ea milites laetarique, obviam itum irae 16
suae esse, ac fateri, omnia patienda potius, quam proderetur
salus tot principum Romanae iuventutis.

Publilius reduces Apulia to submission. Luceria surrenders to Papirius, who passes the inhabitants under the yoke. Different version of some authorities, who ascribe this success to L. Cornelius as dictator, with L. Papirius as his master of horse. **15**

Dimissa contione, consilium habitum, omnibusne copiis
Luceriam premerent, an altero exercitu et duce Apuli circa,
gens dubiae ad id voluntatis, temptarentur. Publilius consul 2
ad peragrandam profectus Apuliam aliquot expeditione una
populos aut vi subegit aut condicionibus in societatem
accepit. Papirio quoque, qui obsessor Luceriae restiterat, 3
brevi ad spem eventus respondit; nam insessis omnibus
viis, per quas commeatus ex Samnio subvehebantur, fame
domiti Samnites, qui Luceriae in praesidio erant, legatos
misere ad consulem Romanum, ut, receptis equitibus, qui

4 causa belli essent, absisteret obsidione. iis Papirius ita
respondit, debuisse eos Pontium Herennii filium, quo
auctore Romanos sub iugum misissent, consulere, quid
5 victis patiendum censeret; ceterum quoniam ab hostibus
in se aequa statui quam in se ipsi ferre maluerint, nuntiare
Luceriam iussit, arma, sarcinas, iumenta, multitudinem
6 omnem imbellem intra moenia relinquerent; militem se
cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum, ulciscentem
7 illatam, non novam inferentem ignominiam. nihil recu-
satum. septem milia militum sub iugum missa, praedaque
ingens Luceriae capta, receptis omnibus signis armisque,
quae ad Caudium amissa erant, et, quod omnia superabat
gaudia, equitibus recuperatis, quos pignora pacis custo-
8 diendos Luceriam Samnites dederant. haud ferme alia
mutatione subita rerum clarior victoria populi Romani est,
si quidem etiam, quod quibusdam in annalibus invenio,
Pontius Herenni filius, Samnitium imperator, ut expiaret
consulum ignominiam, sub iugum cum ceteris est missus.
9 ceterum id minus miror, obscurum esse de hostium duce
dedito missoque; id magis mirabile est, ambigi, Luciusne
Cornelius dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore magistro equitum
10 eas res ad Caudium atque inde Luceriam gesserit, ultorque
unicus Romanae ignominiae, haud sciam an iustissimo
triumpho ad eam aetatem secundum Furium Camillum,
triumphaverit, an consulum Papirique praecipuum id decus
11 sit. sequitur hunc errorem alius error, Cursorne Papirius
proximis comitiis cum Q. Aulio Cerretano iterum, ob rem
bene gestam Luceriae continuato magistratu, consul tertium
creatus sit, an L. Papirius Mugilanus, et in cognomine
erratum sit.

16 B.C. 319. *Consuls, Q. Aulius Cerretanus, L. Papirius Cursor (acc. to others Mugilanus). Successes against the Frentani and Satricani.*

The latter betray their Samnite garrison (c. 12) *to the Romans. Character of Papirius Cursor.*

Convenit iam inde per consules reliqua belli perfecta. Aulius cum † Frentanis uno secundo proelio debellavit, urbemque ipsam, quo se fusa contulerat acies, obsidibus imperatis in deditionem accepit. pari fortuna consul alter cum Satri- 2
canis, qui cives Romani post Caudinam cladem ad Samnites defecerant praesidiumque eorum in urbem acceperant, rem gessit. nam cum ad moenia Satrici admotus esset exercitus, 3
legatisque missis ad pacem cum precibus petendam triste responsum ab consule redditum esset, nisi praesidio Samnitium interfecto aut tradito ne ad se remearent, plus ea voce quam armis illatis terroris colonis iniectum. itaque subinde 4
exsecuntur quaerendo a consule legati, quonam se pacto paucos et infirmos crederet praesidio tam valido et armato vim allaturos. ab iisdem consilium petere iussi, quibus auctoribus praesidium in urbem accepissent, discedunt, 5
aegreque impetrato, ut de ea re consuli senatum responsaque ad se referri sineret, ad suos redeunt. duae factiones 6
senatum distinebant, una, cuius principes erant defectionis a populo Romano auctores, altera fidelium civium; certatum ab utrisque tamen est, ut ad reconciliandam pacem consuli opera navaretur. pars altera, cum praesidium 7
Samnitium, quia nihil satis praeparati erat ad obsidionem tolerandam, excessurum proxima nocte esset, enuntiare consuli satis habuit, qua noctis hora quaque porta et quam in viam egressurus hostis foret; altera, quibus invitis desci- 8
tum ad Samnites erat, eadem nocte portam etiam consuli aperuerunt armatosque clam in urbem acceperunt. ita 9
duplici proditione et praesidium Samnitium, insessis circa viam silvestribus locis, necopinato oppressum est, et ab urbe plena hostium clamor sublatus, momentoque unius horae caesus Samnis, Satricanus captus, et omnia in potes-

10 tate consulis erant; qui, quaestione habita, quorum opera
defectio esset facta, quos sontes comperit, virgis caesos
securi percussit, praesidioque valido imposito, arma Satri-
canis ademit.

11 Inde ad triumphum decessisse Romam Papirium Curso-
rem scribunt, qui eo duce Luceriam receptam Samnitesque
12 sub iugum missos auctores sunt. et fuit vir haud dubie
dignus omni bellica laude, non animi solum vigore, sed
13 etiam corporis viribus excellens. praecipua pedum perni-
citas inerat, quae cognomen etiam dedit; victoremque
cursu omnium aetatis suae fuisse ferunt seu crurum vi seu
exercitatione multa, cibi vinique eundem capacissimum;
14 nec cum ullo asperiorem, quia ipse invicti ad laborem
corporis esset, fuisse militiam pediti pariter equitique;
15 equites etiam aliquando ausos ab eo petere, ut sibi pro re
16 bene gesta laxaret aliquid laboris; quibus ille "ne nihil
remissum dicatis, remitto" inquit, "ne utique dorsum
demulceatis, cum ex equis descendetis." et vis erat in eo
17 viro imperii ingens pariter in socios civesque. Praenestinus
praetor per timorem segnius ex subsidiis suos duxerat in
primam aciem; quem cum inambulans ante tabernaculum
18 vocari iussisset, lictorem expedire securem iussit. ad quam
vocem exanimi stante Praenestino, "age dum, lictor, excide
radicem hanc" inquit "incommodam ambulantibus," per-
19 fusumque ultimi supplicii metu, multa dicta, dimisit. haud
dubie illa aetate, qua nulla virtutum feracior fuit, nemo
unus erat vir, quo magis innixa res Romana staret. quin
eum parem destinant animis Magno Alexandro ducem, si
arma Asia perdomita in Europam vertisset.

17 *Digression on Alexander the Great. The certainty that he would have failed in a conflict with the Romans. Reasons:* (1) *His fame exaggerated by the fact that he died in the full career of his success,*

(2) *he would have had to fight against a number of Roman generals, all his equals in military skill and heirs of a long military tradition,* (3) *Italy would have been a very different country from India to make war in, Romans very different from Persians to fight with,*

Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri
potest, quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem
varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut de-
verticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem; tamen 2
tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitis cogita-
tionibus volutavi animum, eas evocat in medium, ut quae-
rere libeat, quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum Alex-
andro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit. plurimum in bello 3
pollere videntur militum copia et virtus, ingenia impera-
torum, fortuna, per omnia humana, maxime in res bellicas
potens; ea et singula intuenti et universa sicut ab aliis 4
regibus gentibusque, ita ab hoc quoque facile praestant
invictum Romanum imperium. iam primum, ut ordiar ab 5
ducibus comparandis, haud equidem abnuo, egregium
ducem fuisse Alexandrum; sed clariorem tamen eum facit,
quod unus fuit, quod adulescens in incremento rerum,
nondum alteram fortunam expertus, decessit. ut alios 6
reges claros ducesque omittam, magna exempla casuum
humanorum, Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus cele-
brant, quid nisi longa vita, sicut Magnum modo Pompeium,
vertenti praebuit fortunae? recenseam duces Romanos, nec 7
omnes omnium aetatium, sed ipsos eos, cum quibus con-
sulibus aut dictatoribus Alexandro fuit bellandum, M. Vale- 8
rium Corvum, C. Marcium Rutilum, C. Sulpicium, T. Man-
lium Torquatum, Q. Publilium Philonem, L. Papirium
Cursorem, Q. Fabium Maximum, duos Decios, L. Volum-
nium, M'. Curium? deinceps ingentes sequuntur viri, si 9
Punicum Romano praevertisset bellum seniorque in Italiam
traiecisset. horum in quolibet cum indoles eadem, quae 10

in Alexandro, erat animi ingeniique, tum disciplina mili-
taris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita per manus, in artis
11 perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae modum venerat. ita reges
gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores regum Iunii Valeriique,
ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus,
quem iuvenes ii, quibus cum Alexandro dimicandum erat,
12 senem viderant. militaria opera pugnando obeunti Alex-
andro (nam ea quoque haud minus clarum eum faciunt)
cessisset videlicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus
13 aut Valerius Corvus, insignes ante milites quam duces,
cessissent Decii, devotis corporibus in hostem ruentes,
cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis robore, illo animi;
14 victus esset consiliis iuvenis unius, ne singulos nominem,
senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit, unus veram
15 speciem Romani senatus cepit. id vero erat periculum, ne
sollertius quam quilibet unus ex his, quos nominavi, castris
locum caperet, commeatus expediret, ab insidiis praeca-
veret, tempus pugnae deligeret, aciem instrueret, subsidiis
16 firmaret. non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset, quem mulie-
rum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque
aurum, oneratum fortunae apparatibus suae, praedam verius
quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana con-
17 temnere, incruentus devicit. longe alius Italiae quam
Indiae, per quam temulento agmine comisabundus incessit,
visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliae ac montes Lucanos
cernenti et vestigia recentia domesticae cladis, ubi avun-
culus eius nuper, Epiri rex Alexander, absumptus erat.

18 (4) *he was being rapidly demoralised by success when he died,* (5) *the contrast between Alexander's unbroken and Rome's varying success fallacious. Political and other causes, from which Alexander was free, account for the reverses of Roman generals. But Rome has had invincible generals, and against such Alexander would have had to*

contend. These as they fell could be replaced by others without endangering the commonwealth; the Macedonian kingdom depended on Alexander's single life.

Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis
rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. qui si ex habitu 2
novae fortunae novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi
victor induerat, spectetur, Dareo magis similis quam Alex- 3
andro in Italiam venisset, et exercitum Macedoniae obli-
tum degenerantemque iam in Persarum mores adduxisset.
referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et 4
desideratas humi iacentium adulationes, etiam victis Mace-
donibus graves, nedum victoribus, et foeda supplicia et
inter vinum et epulas caedes amicorum et vanitatem emen-
tiendae stirpis. quid, si vini amor in dies fieret acrior? 5
quid, si trux ac praefervida ira? (nec quicquam dubium
inter scriptores refero) nullane haec damna imperatoriis
virtutibus ducimus? id vero periculum erat, quod levissimi 6
ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum
gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis
Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror
fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus, et, ad- 7
versus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Macedonum armis,
cernente tum maxime prope fumantes Thebarum ruinas,
contionari libere ausi sint homines, id quod ex monumentis
orationum patet, adversus eum nemo ex tot proceribus
Romanis vocem liberam missurus fuerit? quantalibet mag- 8
nitudo hominis concipiatur animo; unius tamen ea magni-
tudo hominis erit, collecta paulo plus decem annorum
felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt, quod populus Romanus, 9
etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proeliis victus sit, Alexandro
nullius pugnae non secunda fortuna fuerit, non intellegunt,
se hominis res gestas, et eius iuvenis, cum populi iam
octingentesimum bellantis annum rebus conferre. miremur, 10

si, cum ex hac parte saecula plura numerentur quam ex
illa anni, plus in tam longo spatio quam in aetate tredecim
11 annorum fortuna variaverit? quin tu hominis cum homine
12 et ducis cum duce fortunam [cum fortuna] confers? quot
Romanos duces nominem, quibus numquam adversa fortuna
pugnae fuit? paginas in annalibus magistratuum fastisque
percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque, quorum nec vir-
tutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paenituit.
13 et quo sint mirabiliores quam Alexander aut quisquam rex,
denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam, nemo plus quam
14 annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis plebis dilectus
impediti sunt; post tempus ad bella ierunt, ante tempus
15 comitiorum causa revocati sunt; in ipso conatu rerum
circumegit se annus; collegae nunc temeritas, nunc pravitas
impedimento aut damno fuit; male gestis rebus alterius
successum est; tironem aut mala disciplina institutum
16 exercitum acceperunt. at hercule reges non liberi solum
impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque
17 trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur. invictus ergo
Alexander cum invictis ducibus bella gessisset, et eadem
18 fortunae pignora in discrimen detulisset; immo etiam eo
plus periculi subisset, quod Macedones unum Alexandrum
habuissent, multis casibus non solum obnoxium, sed etiam
19 offerentem se, Romani multi fuissent Alexandro vel gloria
vel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato, sine
publico discrimine, viveret morereturque.

19 (6) *the Roman forces were superior in number and quality to the Macedonian,* (7) *a single defeat would have been fatal to Alexander. Even success would have been so dearly bought as to be useless,* (8) *the experience of the Punic and Macedonian wars conclusive against the possibility of ultimate success to Alexander.*

Restat, ut copiae copiis comparentur vel numero vel mi-
2 litum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum. censebantur eius

aetatis lustris ducena quinquagena milia capitum. itaque
in omni defectione sociorum Latini nominis urbano prope
dilectu decem scribebantur legiones; quaterni quinique 3
exercitus saepe per eos annos in Etruria, in Umbria Gallis
hostibus adiunctis, in Samnio, in Lucanis gerebant bellum.
Latium deinde omne cum Sabinis et Volscis et Aequis et 4
omni Campania et parte Umbriae Etruriaeque et Picentibus
et Marsis Pelignisque ac Vestinis atque Apulis, adiuncta
omni ora Graecorum inferi maris a Thuriis Neapolim et
Cumas et inde Antio atque Ostiis tenus, aut socios validos
Romanis aut fractos bello invenisset hostes. ipse traiecisset 5
mare cum veteranis Macedonibus non plus triginta milibus
hominum et quattuor milibus equitum, maxime Thessa-
lorum; hoc enim roboris erat. Persas, Indos aliasque si
adiunxisset gentes, impedimentum maius quam auxilium
traheret. adde, quod Romanis ad manum domi supple- 6
mentum esset, Alexandro, quod postea Hannibali accidit,
alieno in agro bellanti exercitus consenuisset. arma clipei 7
sarisaeque illis; Romano scutum, maius corpori tegumentum,
et pilum, haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque
telum. statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa 8
phalanx immobilis et unius generis, Romana acies distinctior,
ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis partienti, quacunque
opus esset, facilis iungenti. iam in opere quis par Romano 9
miles? quis ad tolerandum laborem melior? uno proelio
victus Alexander bello victus esset; Romanum, quem Cau-
dium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?
ne ille saepe, etiamsi prima prospere evenissent, Persas et 10
Indos et imbellem Asiam quaesisset, et cum feminis sibi
bellum fuisse dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum, morti- 11
fero vulnere ictum, dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum in Asia
gestorum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem. equidem 12
cum per annos quattuor et viginti primo Punico bello clas-

sibus certatum cum Poenis recordor, vix aetatem Alexandri
13 suffecturam fuisse reor ad unum bellum. et forsitan, cum
et foederibus vetustis iuncta res Punica Romanae esset, et
timor par adversus communem hostem duas potentissimas
armis virisque urbes armaret, simul Punico Romanoque
14 obrutus bello esset. non quidem Alexandro duce nec
integris Macedonum rebus, sed experti tamen sunt Romani
Macedonem hostem adversus Antiochum, Philippum,
Persen, non modo cum clade ulla, sed ne cum periculo
15 quidem suo. absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant;
[numquam ab equite hoste,] numquam a pedite, numquam
aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis
16 laboravimus; equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, avia com-
17 meatibus loca gravis armis miles timere potest; mille acies
graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertet-
que, modo sit perpetuus huius, qua vivimus, pacis amor et
civilis cura concordiae.

20 B.C. 318. *A petition from the Samnites for a renewal of their treaty is rejected, and a truce for two years granted them. Teanum and Canusium surrender to the consul Plautius. Capua becomes a* praefectura. *Two new Roman tribes, Ufentine and Falernian, created.*

B.C. 317. *Apulia entirely reduced and Nerulum in Lucania captured. Patrons granted to the Antiates at their request to draw up a code of laws for them.*

M. Folius Flaccina inde et L. Plautius Venox consules
facti. eo anno ab frequentibus Samnitium populis de
foedere renovando legati cum senatum humi strati mo-
2 vissent, reiecti ad populum haudquaquam tam efficaces
3 habebant preces. itaque de foedere negatum; indutiae
biennii, cum per aliquot dies fatigassent singulos precibus,
4 impetratae. et ex Apulia Teanenses Canusinique popu-
lationibus fessi, obsidibus L. Plautio consuli datis, in dedi-

tionem venerunt. eodem anno primum praefecti Capuam 5
creari coepti, legibus ab L. Furio praetore datis, cum utrum-
que ipsi pro remedio aegris rebus discordia intestina petis-
sent; et duae Romae additae tribus, Vfentina ac Falerna. 6
Inclinatis semel in Apulia rebus, Teates quoque Apuli 7
ad novos consules, C. Iunium Bubulcum, Q. Aemilium Bar-
bulam, foedus petitum venerunt, pacis per omnem Apuliam
praestandae populo Romano auctores. id audacter spon- 8
dendo impetravere, ut foedus daretur, neque ut aequo tamen
foedere, sed ut in dicione populi Romani essent. Apulia 9
perdomita (nam Forento quoque, valido oppido, Iunius
potitus erat), in Lucanos perrectum; inde repentino adventu
Aemilii consulis Nerulum vi captum. et postquam res 10
Capuae stabilitas Romana disciplina fama per socios vul-
gavit, Antiatibus quoque, qui se sine legibus certis, sine
magistratibus agere querebantur, dati ab senatu ad iura
statuenda ipsius coloniae patroni; nec arma modo, sed iura
etiam Romana late pollebant.

B.C. 316. *L. Aemilius, dictator, by attacking Saticula provokes the Samnites to renew the war and wins a victory over the Samnite army assisted by the Saticulani. The Samnites leaving Saticula besiege Plistica.* **21**

C. Iunius Bubulcus et Q. Aemilius Barbula consules
exitu anni non consulibus ab se creatis, Sp. Nautio et M.
Popillio, ceterum dictatori L. Aemilio legiones tradiderunt.
is cum L. Fulvio magistro equitum Saticulam oppugnare 2
adortus rebellandi causam Samnitibus dedit. duplex inde 3
terror illatus Romanis; hinc Samnis, magno exercitu coacto
ad eximendos obsidione socios, haud procul castris Roma-
norum castra posuit; hinc Saticulani magno cum tumultu,
patefactis repente portis, in stationes hostium incurrerunt.
inde pars utraque, spe alieni magis auxilii quam viribus 4

freta suis, iusto mox proelio inito Romanos urgent, et quam-
quam anceps dimicatio erat, tamen utrimque tutam aciem
dictator habuit, quia et locum haud facilem ad circum-
5 veniendum cepit et diversa statuit signa. infestior tamen
in erumpentes incessit, nec magno certamine intra moenia
6 compulit; tum totam aciem in Samnites obvertit. ibi plus
certaminis fuit; victoria sicut sera, ita nec dubia nec varia
fuit. fusi in castra Samnites, exstinctis nocte ignibus, tacito
agmine abeunt, et spe abiecta Saticulae tuendae, Plisticam
ipsi, socios Romanorum, ut parem dolorem hosti redderent,
circumsidunt.

22 B.C. 315. *Another dictator, Q. Fabius, succeeds to the duty of besieging Saticula. The Samnites renew their camp before it. An engagement, in which Q. Aulius, master of the horse, kills the Samnite general and is killed himself, terminates in favour of the Romans. They capture Saticula, the Samnites Plistica.*

Anno circumacto bellum deinceps ab dictatore Q. Fabio
gestum est. consules novi, sicut superiores, Romae man-
serunt; Fabius ad accipiendum ab Aemilio exercitum ad
2 Saticulam cum supplemento venit. neque enim Samnites
ad Plisticam manserant, sed accitis ab domo novis militibus,
multitudine freti, castra eodem, quo antea, loco posuerunt,
lacessentesque proelio Romanos avertere ab obsidione cona-
3 bantur. eo intentius dictator in moenia hostium versus id
bellum tantum ducere, quo urbem oppugnabat, securior ab
Samnitibus agere, stationibus modo oppositis, ne qua in
4 castra vis fieret. eo ferocius adequitare Samnites vallo
neque otium pati; et cum iam prope in portis castrorum
esset hostis, nihil consulto dictatore magister equitum Q.
Aulius Cerretanus magno tumultu cum omnibus turmis
5 equitum evectus summovit hostem. tum in minime perti-
naci genere pugnae sic Fortuna exercuit opes, ut insignes

utrimque clades et clara ipsorum ducum ederet funera.
prior Samnitium imperator, aegre patiens, quo tam ferociter 6
adequitasset, inde se fundi fugarique, orando hortandoque
equites proelium iteravit; in quem insignem inter suos 7
cientem pugnam magister equitum Romanus infesta cuspide
ita permisit equum, ut uno ictu exanimem equo praecipitaret.
nec, ut fit, ad ducis casum perculsa magis quam irritata est
multitudo; omnes, qui circa erant, in Aulium temere in- 8
vectum per hostium turmas tela coniecerunt; fratri prae- 9
cipuum decus ulti Samnitium imperatoris *di* dederunt. is
victorem detractum ex equo magistrum equitum plenus
maeroris atque irae trucidavit, nec multum afuit, quin cor-
pore etiam, quia inter hostiles ceciderat turmas, Samnites
potirentur. sed extemplo ad pedes descensum ab Romanis 10
est, coactique idem Samnites facere; et repentina acies circa
corpora ducum pedestre proelium iniit, quo haud dubie
superat Romanus, recuperatumque Aulii corpus mixta cum
dolore laetitia victores in castra referunt. Samnites, duce 11
amisso et per equestre certamen temptatis viribus, omissa
Saticula, quam nequiquam defendi rebantur, ad Plisticae
obsidionem redeunt, intraque paucos dies Saticula Romanus
per deditionem, Plistica per vim Samnis potitur.

The seat of the war is shifted to Sora, the inhabitants of which had revolted to the Samnites, and killed the Roman colonists. An indecisive battle is fought at Lautulae. Shortly afterwards the dictator, having first placed an ambuscade, offers battle to the Samnites, firing his camp as he left it, to make retreat impossible. Signal defeat of the Samnites. **23**

Mutata inde belli sedes est; ad Soram ex Samnio
Apuliaque traductae legiones. Sora ad Samnites defecerat 2
interfectis colonis Romanorum. quo cum prior Romanus
exercitus ad ulciscendam civium necem recuperandamque
coloniam magnis itineribus pervenisset, *et* sparsi per vias 3

speculatores, sequi legiones Samnitium nec iam procul
4 abesse, alii super alios nuntiarent, obviam itum hosti atque
ad Lautulas ancipiti proelio dimicatum est. non caedes,
non fuga alterius partis, sed nox incertos, victi victoresne
5 essent, diremit. invenio apud quosdam, adversam eam
pugnam Romanis fuisse, atque in ea cecidisse Q. Aulium
6 magistrum equitum. suffectus in locum Auli C. Fabius
magister equitum cum exercitu novo ab Roma advenit et,
per praemissos nuntios consulto dictatore, ubi subsisteret,
quove tempore et qua ex parte hostem aggrederetur, sub-
7 stitit occultus, ad omnia satis exploratis consiliis. dictator
cum per aliquot dies post pugnam continuisset suos intra
8 vallum obsessi magis quam obsidentis modo, signum repente
pugnae proposuit, et efficacius ratus ad accendendos viro-
rum fortium animos, nullam alibi quam in semet ipso
cuiquam relictam spem, de magistro equitum novoque
9 exercitu militem celavit et, tamquam nulla nisi in eruptione
spes esset, "locis" inquit "angustis, milites, deprehensi,
nisi quam victoria patefecerimus, viam nullam habemus.
10 stativa nostra munimento satis tuta sunt, sed inopia eadem
infesta; nam et circa omnia defecerunt, unde subvehi com-
meatus poterant, et, si homines iuvare velint, iniqua loca
11 sunt. itaque non frustrabor ego vos castra hic relinquendo,
in quae infecta victoria, sicut pristino die, vos recipiatis.
armis munimenta, non munimentis arma tuta esse debent.
12 castra habeant repetantque, quibus operae est trahere
bellum; nos omnium rerum respectum praeterquam vic-
13 toriae nobis abscidamus. ferte signa in hostem; ubi extra
vallum agmen excesserit, castra, quibus imperatum est, in-
cendent; damna vestra, milites, omnium circa, qui defece-
14 runt, populorum praeda sarcientur." et oratione dictatoris,
quae necessitatis ultimae index erat, milites accensi vadunt
in hostem, et respectus ipse ardentium castrorum, quamquam

proximis tantum (ita enim iusserat dictator) ignis est sub-
ditus, haud parvum fuit irritamentum. itaque velut vecordes 15
illati signa primo impetu hostium turbant; et in tempore,
postquam ardentia procul vidit castra magister equitum
(id convenerat signum), hostium terga invadit. ita circum-
venti Samnites, qua potest quisque, fugam per diversa
petunt; ingens multitudo in unum metu conglobata ac 16
semet ipsam turba impediens in medio caesa. castra hos- 17
tium capta direptaque, quorum praeda onustum militem in
Romana castra dictator reducit, haudquaquam tam victoria
laetum quam quod, praeter exiguam deformatam incendio
partem, cetera contra spem salva invenit.

B.C. 314. *The army returns to Sora, which is taken by the assistance of a deserter. His stratagem.* 250 *men, leaders in the revolt and massacre of the colonists, are sent to Rome and put to death.* **24**

Ad Soram inde reditum; novique consules M. Poetelius,
C. Sulpicius exercitum ab dictatore Fabio accipiunt, magna
parte veterum militum dimissa novisque cohortibus in sup-
plementum adductis. ceterum cum propter difficilem urbis 2
situm nec oppugnandi satis certa ratio iniretur, et aut tem-
pore longinqua aut praeceps periculo victoria esset, Soranus 3
transfuga clam ex oppido profectus, cum ad vigiles Roma-
nos penetrasset, duci se extemplo ad consules iubet, deduc-
tusque traditurum urbem promittit. visus inde, cum, 4
quonam modo id praestaturus esset, percontantes doceret,
haud vana afferre, perpulit, prope adiuncta moenibus
Romana castra ut sex milia ab oppido removerentur: fore, 5
ut minus intentae in custodiam urbis diurnae stationes
ac nocturnae vigiliae essent. ipse insequenti nocte, sub
oppido silvestribus locis cohortibus insidere iussis, decem
milites delectos secum per ardua ac prope invia in arcem
ducit, pluribus quam pro numero virorum missilibus telis

6 eo collatis; ad hoc saxa erant et temere iacentia, ut fit in
aspretis, et de industria etiam, quo locus tutior esset, ab
7 oppidanis congesta. ubi cum constituisset Romanos semi-
tamque angustam et arduam erectam ex oppido in arcem
ostendisset, "hoc quidem ascensu" inquit "vel tres
8 armati quamlibet multitudinem arcuerint; vos et decem
numero et, quod plus est, Romani Romanorumque fortis-
simi viri estis. et locus pro vobis et nox erit, quae omnia
ex incerto maiora territis ostentat. ego iam terrore omnia
9 implebo; vos arcem intenti tenete." decurrit inde, quanto
maxime poterat cum tumultu, "ad arma" et "pro vestram
fidem, cives" clamitans; "arx ab hostibus capta est;
10 defendite [ite]." haec incidens principum foribus, haec
obviis, haec excurrentibus in publicum pavidis increpat.
11 acceptum ab uno pavorem plures per urbem ferunt. trepidi
magistratus, missis ad arcem exploratoribus, cum tela et
armatos tenere arcem multiplicato numero audirent, aver-
12 tunt animos a spe recuperandae arcis. fuga cuncta com-
plentur, portaeque ab semisomnis ac maxima parte iner-
mibus refringuntur; quarum per unam praesidium Romanum
clamore excitatum irrumpit et concursantes per vias pavidos
13 caedit. iam Sora capta erat, cum consules prima luce
advenere et, quos reliquos fortuna ex nocturna caede ac
14 fuga fecerat, in deditionem accipiunt. ex his ducentos
viginti quinque, qui omnium consensu destinabantur et
infandae colonorum caedis et defectionis auctores, vinctos
Romam deducunt; ceteram multitudinem incolumem, prae
15 sidio imposito, Sorae relinquunt. omnes, qui Romam
deducti erant, virgis in foro caesi ac securi percussi summo
gaudio plebis, cuius maxime intererat, tutam ubique, quae
passim in colonias mitteretur, multitudinem esse.

Agitation among the Ausones (part of a wide-spread conspiracy against 25
Rome following on the battle of Lautulae, in which Capua and even
some leading men at Rome are implicated). War is carried into
their territory and three towns taken by treachery, much in the same
way as Sora was taken.

Consules ab Sora profecti in agros atque urbes Ausonum
bellum intulerunt. mota namque omnia adventu Samni- 2
tium, cum apud Lautulas dimicatum est, fuerant coniura-
tionesque circa Campaniam passim factae, nec Capua ipsa
crimine caruit; quin Romam quoque et ad principum 3
quosdam inquirendo ventum est. ceterum Ausonum gens
proditione urbium, sicut Sora, in potestatem venit. Ausona 4
et Minturnae et Vescia urbes erant, ex quibus principes
iuventutis duodecim numero, in proditionem urbium sua-
rum coniurati, ad consules veniunt. docent, suos iam 5
pridem exoptantes Samnitium adventum, simul ad Lautulas
pugnatum audierint, pro victis Romanos habuisse, iuventute,
armis Samnitem iuvisse; fugatis inde Samnitibus, incerta 6
pace agere, nec claudentes portas Romanis, ne arcessant
bellum, et obstinatos claudere, si exercitus admoveatur;
in ea fluctuatione animorum opprimi incautos posse. his 7
auctoribus mota propius castra missique eodem tempore
circa tria oppida milites, partim armati, qui occulti pro-
pinqua moenibus insiderent loca, partim togati, tectis veste
gladiis, qui sub lucem apertis portis urbes ingrederentur.
ab his simul custodes trucidari coepti, simul datum signum 8
armatis, ut ex insidiis concurrerent. ita portae occupatae,
triaque oppida eadem hora eodemque consilio capta; sed 9
quia absentibus ducibus impetus est factus, nullus modus
caedibus fuit, deletaque Ausonum gens vix certo defectionis
crimine, perinde ac si internecivo bello certasset.

26 *Luceria is betrayed to the Samnites, but recovered; the Lucerines and Samnites are mercilessly punished and* 2500 *colonists planted in Luceria.*

A dictator is appointed to enquire into the charges of conspiracy against certain Capuans, several of whom commit suicide. As a consequence of this enquiry, prosecutions on the general charge of combination to injure the State are instituted at Rome first against some of the nobility, then at their instance against novi homines *including the dictator. The agitation after several acquittals dies a natural death.*

Eodem anno, prodito hostibus Romano praesidio,
Luceria Samnitium facta; nec diu proditoribus impunita
2 res fuit. haud procul inde exercitus Romanus erat, cuius
primo impetu urbs sita in plano capitur. Lucerini ac Sam-
3 nites ad internecionem caesi; eoque ira processit, ut Romae
quoque, cum de colonis mittendis Luceriam consuleretur
4 senatus, multi delendam urbem censerent. praeter odium,
quod exsecrabile in bis captos erat, longinquitas quoque
abhorrere a relegandis tam procul ab domo civibus inter
5 tam infestas gentes cogebat. vicit tamen sententia, ut
mitterentur coloni; duo milia et quingenti missi.

Eodem anno, cum omnia infida Romanis essent, Capuae
6 quoque occultae principum coniurationes factae. de quibus
cum ad senatum relatum esset, haudquaquam neglecta res;
quaestiones decretae, dictatoremque quaestionibus exer-
7 cendis dici placuit. C. Maenius dictus; is M. Folium
magistrum equitum dixit. ingens erat magistratus eius
terror. itaque sive timor seu conscientia fuit, Calavios
Ovium Noviumque (ea capita coniurationis fuerant), prius
quam nominarentur apud dictatorem, mors haud dubie
8 ab ipsis conscita iudicio subtraxit. deinde, ut quaestioni
Campanae materia decessit, versa Romam interpretando
res: non nominatim, qui Capuae, sed in universum, qui
usquam coissent coniurassentve adversus rem publicam,

quaeri senatum iussisse, et coitiones honorum adipiscendo- 9
rum causa factas adversus rem publicam esse. latiorque
et re et personis quaestio fieri, haud abnuente dictatore,
sine fine ulla quaestionis suae ius esse. postulabantur 10
ergo nobiles homines, appellantibusque tribunos nemo erat
auxilio, quin nomina reciperentur. inde nobilitas, nec ii 11
modo, in quos crimen intendebatur, sed universi simul
negare, nobilium id crimen esse, quibus, si nulla obstetur
fraude, pateat via ad honorem, sed hominum novorum;
ipsos adeo dictatorem magistrumque equitum reos magis 12
quam quaesitores idoneos eius criminis esse, intellectu-
rosque, ita id esse, simul magistratu abissent. tum enim- 13
vero Maenius, iam famae magis quam imperii memor,
progressus in contionem ita verba fecit: "et omnes ante 14
actae vitae vos conscios habeo, Quirites, et hic ipse honos
delatus ad me testis est innocentiae meae; neque enim,
quod saepe alias, quia ita tempora postulabant rei publicae,
qui bello clarissimus esset, sed qui maxime procul ab his
coitionibus vitam egisset, dictator deligendus exercendis
quaestionibus fuit. sed quoniam quidam nobiles homines 15
(qua de causa, vos existimare quam me pro magistratu
quicquam incompertum dicere melius est) primum ipsas
expugnare quaestiones omni ope adnisi sunt, dein, post- 16
quam ad id parum potentes erant, ne causam dicerent, in
praesidia adversariorum, appellationem et tribunicium auxi-
lium, patricii confugerunt, postremo repulsi inde (adeo 17
omnia tutiora, quam ut innocentiam suam purgarent, visa)
in nos irruerunt, et privatis dictatorem poscere reum vere-
cundiae non fuit, ut omnes di hominesque sciant, ab illis 18
etiam, quae non possint, temptari, ne rationem vitae reddant,
me obviam ire crimini et offerre me inimicis reum, dictatura
me abdico. vos quaeso, consules, si vobis datum ab senatu 19
negotium fuerit, in me primum et hunc M. Folium quaes-

tiones exerceatis, ut appareat, innocentia nostra nos, non
20 maiestate honoris tutos a criminationibus istis esse." abdi-
cat inde se dictatura et post eum confestim Folius magisterio
equitum; primique apud consules (iis enim ab senatu man-
data res est) rei facti adversus nobilium testimonia egregie
21 absolvuntur. Publilius etiam Philo, multiplicatis summis
honoribus, post res tot domi belloque gestas, ceterum in-
22 visus nobilitati, causam dixit absolutusque est. nec diutius,
ut fit, quam dum recens erat, quaestio per clara nomina
reorum viguit; inde labi coepit ad viliora capita, donec
coitionibus factionibusque, adversus quas comparata erat,
oppressa est.

27 *Encouraged by these proceedings the Samnites return to Caudium to be ready to seize any opportunity of attacking Capua. A battle is fought in which the Romans ultimately win the day.* 30,000 *Samnites said to have been killed.*

Earum fama rerum, magis tamen spes Campanae defec-
tionis, in quam coniuratum erat, Samnites in Apuliam versos
2 rursus ad Caudium revocavit, ut inde ex propinquo, si qui
3 motus occasionem aperiret, Capuam Romanis eriperent. eo
consules cum valido exercitu venerunt. et primo circa
saltus, cum utrimque ad hostem iniqua via esset, cunctati
4 sunt; deinde Samnites per aperta loca brevi circuitu in loca
plana, Campanos campos, agmen demittunt, ibique primum
castra in conspectum hostibus data, deinde levibus proeliis,
5 equitum saepius quam peditum, utrimque periculum factum;
nec aut eventus eorum Romanum aut morae, qua trahebant
6 bellum, paenitebat. Samnitium contra ducibus et carpi
parvis cottidie damnis et senescere dilatione belli vires suae
7 videbantur. itaque in aciem procedunt, equitibus in cornua
divisis, quibus praeceptum erat, intentiores ad respectum
castrorum, ne qua eo vis fieret, quam ad proelium starent:

aciem pedite tutam fore. consulum Sulpicius in dextro, 8
Poetelius in laevo cornu consistunt. dextra pars, qua et
Samnites raris ordinibus, aut ad circumeundos hostes aut
ne ipsi circumirentur, constiterant, latius patefacta stetit;
sinistris, praeterquam quod confertiores steterant, repentino 9
consilio Poeteli consulis additae vires, qui subsidiarias
cohortes, quae integrae ad longioris pugnae casus reserva-
bantur, in primam aciem extemplo emisit, universisque
hostem primo impetu viribus impulit. commota pedestri 10
acie, Samnitium eques in pugnam succedit. in hunc trans-
verso agmine inter duas acies se inferentem Romanus equi-
tatus concitat equos signaque et ordines peditum atque
equitum confundit, donec universam ab ea parte avertit
aciem. in eo cornu non Poetelius solus, sed Sulpicius 11
etiam hortator adfuerat, avectus ab suis nondum conseren-
tibus manus ad clamorem a sinistra parte prius exortum.
unde haud dubiam victoriam cernens cum ad suum cornu 12
tenderet cum mille ducentis viris, dissimilem ibi fortunam
invenit, Romanos loco pulsos, victorem hostem signa in
perculsos inferentem. ceterum omnia mutavit repente con- 13
sulis adventus; nam et conspectu ducis refectus militum
est animus, et maius quam pro numero auxilium advenerant
fortes viri, et partis alterius victoria audita, mox visa etiam,
proelium restituit. tota deinde iam vincere acie Romanus, 14
et omisso certamine caedi capique Samnites, nisi qui Male-
ventum, cui nunc urbi Beneventum nomen est, perfugerunt.
ad triginta milia caesa aut capta Samnitium proditum
memoriae est.

B.C. 313. *Winter quarters at Bovianum. A dictator appointed* 28
(1) *recaptures Fregellae, lately taken by the Samnites,* (2) *captures Nola in Campania. Some accounts ascribe the last capture to the consul C. Junius. Colonies are planted at Suessa Auruncorum, and Pontia, and next year at Interamna.*

Consules, egregia victoria parta, protinus inde ad Bo-
2 vianum oppugnandum legiones ducunt; ibique hiberna egerunt, donec ab novis consulibus, L. Papirio Cursore quintum, C. Iunio Bubulco iterum, nominatus dictator C. Poetelius cum M. Folio magistro equitum exercitum accepit.
3 is cum audisset arcem Fregellanam ab Samnitibus captam, omisso Boviano ad Fregellas pergit; unde, nocturna Samnitium fuga sine certamine receptis Fregellis praesidioque valido imposito, in Campaniam reditum maxime ad Nolam
4 armis repetendam. eo se intra moenia sub adventum dictatoris et Samnitium omnis multitudo et Nolani agrestes con-
5 tulerant. dictator, urbis situ circumspecto, quo apertior aditus ad moenia esset, omnia aedificia (et frequenter ibi habitabatur) circumiecta muris incendit; nec ita multo post, sive a Poetelio dictatore sive ab C. Iunio consule (nam
6 utrumque traditur), Nola est capta. qui captae decus Nolae ad consulem trahunt, adiciunt, Atinam et Calatiam ab eodem captas, Poetelium autem, pestilentia orta, clavi
7 figendi causa dictatorem dictum. Suessa et Pontiae eodem anno coloniae deductae sunt. Suessa Auruncorum fuerat; Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, in-
8 coluerant. et Interamnam Succasinam ut deduceretur colonia, senati consultum factum est; sed triumviros creavere ac misere colonorum quattuor milia insequentes consules M. Valerius, P. Decius.

29 *Rumour of war from Etruria. A dictator appointed. The famous censorship of Ap. Claudius who began the via Appia and built the first aqueduct. Extinction of the Potitii.*

Profligato fere Samnitium bello, prius quam ea cura decederet patribus Romanis, Etrusci belli fama exorta est;
2 nec erat ea tempestate gens alia, cuius secundum Gallicos tumultus arma terribiliora essent cum propinquitate agri,

tum multitudine hominum. itaque altero consule in Samnio 3
reliquias belli persequente, P. Decius, qui graviter aeger
Romae restiterat, auctore senatu dictatorem C. Iunium
Bubulcum dixit. is, prout rei magnitudo postulabat, omnes 4
iuniores sacramento adigit, arma, quaeque alia res poscit,
summa industria parat; nec tantis apparatibus elatus de
inferendo bello agitat, quieturus haud dubie, nisi ultro arma
Etrusci inferrent. eadem in comparando cohibendoque 5
bello consilia et apud Etruscos fuere; neutri finibus egressi.

Et censura clara eo anno Ap. Claudi et C. Plauti fuit,
memoriae tamen felicioris ad posteros nomen Appi, quod 6
viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit, eaque unus perfecit, 7
quia ob infamem atque invidiosam senatus lectionem vere-
cundia victus collega magistratu se abdicaverat; Appius 8
iam inde antiquitus insitam pertinaciam familiae gerendo
solus censuram obtinuit. eodem Appio auctore Potitii, 9
gens, cuius ad aram maximam Herculis familiare sacer-
dotium fuerat, servos publicos ministerii delegandi causa
sollemnia eius sacri docuerant. traditur inde, dictu mira- 10
bile et quod demovendis statu suo sacris religionem facere
possit, cum duodecim familiae ea tempestate Potitiorum
essent, puberes ad triginta, omnes intra annum cum stirpe
exstinctos; nec nomen tantum Potitiorum interisse, sed 11
censorem etiam Appium memori deum ira post aliquot
annos luminibus captum.

B.C. 311. *The revision of the Senate by Ap. Claudius in the previous* **30**
year set aside. Alteration in appointment of military tribunes.
Duoviri navales *created. The* tibicines *deprived of their privileges*
migrate in a body to Tibur, but are recovered by a stratagem and
their privileges restored to them.

Itaque consules, qui eum annum secuti sunt, C. Iunius
Bubulcus tertium et Q. Aemilius Barbula iterum, initio anni

questi apud populum, deformatum ordinem prava lectione
2 senatus, qua potiores aliquot lectis praeteriti essent, nega-
verunt eam lectionem se, quae sine recti pravique discrimine
ad gratiam ac libidinem facta esset, observaturos, et senatum
extemplo citaverunt eo ordine, qui ante censores Ap.
3 Claudium et C. Plautium fuerat. et duo imperia eo anno
dari coepta per populum, utraque pertinentia ad rem mili-
tarem, unum, ut tribuni militum seni deni in quattuor
legiones a populo crearentur, quae antea, perquam paucis
suffragio populi relictis locis, dictatorum et consulum ferme
fuerant beneficia; tulere eam rogationem tribuni plebei L.
4 Atilius, C. Marcius; alterum, ut duumviros navales classis
ornandae reficiendaeque causa idem populus iuberet; lator
huius plebi sciti fuit M. Decius tribunus plebis.

5 Eiusdem anni rem dictu parvam praeterirem, ni ad reli-
gionem visa esset pertinere. tibicines, quia prohibiti a
proximis censoribus erant in aede Iovis vesci, quod traditum
antiquitus erat, aegre passi Tibur uno agmine abierunt,
6 adeo ut nemo in urbe esset, qui sacrificiis praecineret. eius
rei religio tenuit senatum, legatosque Tibur miserunt, ut
darent operam, ut ii homines Romanis restituerentur.
7 Tiburtini benigne polliciti primum accitos eos in curiam
hortati sunt, uti reverterentur Romam; postquam perpelli
nequibant, consilio haud abhorrente ab ingeniis hominum
8 eos aggrediuntur. die festo alii alios per speciem cele-
brandarum cantu epularum invitant, et vino, cuius avidum
9 ferme genus est, oneratos sopiunt, atque ita in plaustra
somno vinctos coniciunt ac Romam deportant; nec prius
sensere, quam plaustris in foro relictis plenos crapulae eos
10 lux oppressit. tunc concursus populi factus, impetratoque,
ut manerent, datum, ut triduum quotannis ornati cum cantu
atque hac, quae nunc sollemnis est, licentia per urbem
vagarentur, restitutumque in aede vescendi ius iis, qui sacris

praecinerent. haec inter duorum ingentium bellorum curam gerebantur.

Cluvianum, where the Roman garrison had been treacherously and cruelly put to death, is captured and its inhabitants butchered. Bovianum is captured by the Romans. The Samnites entice the Romans into an ambuscade, but are defeated themselves. **31**

Consules inter se provincias partiti; Iunio Samnites,
Aemilio novum bellum Etruria sorte obvenit. in Samnio 2
Cluviani praesidium Romanum, quia nequiverat vi capi,
obsessum fame in deditionem acceperant Samnites, verberi-
busque foedum in modum laceratos occiderant deditos.
huic infensus crudelitati Iunius, nihil antiquius oppugna- 3
tione Cluviani ratus, quo die aggressus est moenia, vi cepit,
atque omnes puberes interfecit. inde victor exercitus 4
Bovianum ductus; caput hoc erat Pentrorum Samnitium,
longe ditissimum atque opulentissimum armis virisque. ibi, 5
quia haud tantum irarum erat, spe praedae milites accensi
oppido potiuntur. minus itaque saevitum in hostes est,
praedae plus paene quam ex omni Samnio umquam eges-
tum, benigneque omnis militi concessa. et postquam prae- 6
potentem armis Romanum nec acies subsistere ullae nec
castra nec urbes poterant, omnium principum in Samnio
eo curae sunt intentae, ut insidiis quaereretur locus, si qua
licentia populandi effusus exercitus excipi ac circumveniri
posset. transfugae agrestes et captivi, quidam [pars] forte, 7
pars consilio oblati, congruentia ad consulem adferentes,
quae et vera erant, pecoris vim ingentem in saltum avium
compulsam esse, perpulerunt, ut praedatum eo expeditae
ducerentur legiones. ibi ingens hostium exercitus itinera 8
occultus insederat et, postquam intrasse Romanos vidit
saltum, repente exortus cum clamore ac tumultu incautos
invadit. et primo nova res trepidationem fecit, dum arma 9

capiunt, sarcinas congerunt in medium; dein, postquam,
ut quisque liberaverat se onere aptaveratque armis, ad signa
undique coibant, et notis ordinibus in vetere disciplina
militiae iam sine praecepto ullius sua sponte struebatur
10 acies, consul ad ancipitem maxime pugnam advectus desilit
ex equo, et Iovem Martemque atque alios testatur deos, se
nullam suam gloriam inde, sed praedam militi quaerentem
11 in eum locum devenisse, neque in se aliud quam nimiam
ditandi ex hoste militis curam reprehendi posse; ab eo
se dedecore nullam rem aliam quam virtutem militum
12 vindicaturam. coniterentur modo uno animo omnes in-
vadere hostem victum acie, castris exutum, nudatum urbibus,
ultimam spem furto insidiarum temptantem et loco, non armis
13 fretum. sed quem esse iam virtuti Romanae inexpugna-
bilem locum? Fregellana arx Soranaque, et ubicumque
14 iniquo successum erat loco, memorabantur. his accensus
miles, omnium immemor difficultatium, vadit adversus
imminentem hostium aciem. ibi paulum laboris fuit, dum
15 in adversum clivum erigitur agmen; ceterum postquam
prima signa planitiem summam ceperunt, sensitque acies,
aequo se iam institisse loco, versus extemplo est terror in
insidiatores, easdemque latebras, quibus se paulo ante
16 texerant, palati atque inermes fuga repetebant. sed loca
difficilia hosti quaesita ipsos tum sua fraude impediebant.
itaque ergo perpaucis effugium patuit; caesa ad viginti
milia hominum; victorque Romanus ad oblatam ab hoste
praedam pecorum discurrit.

32 *War with Etruria begins with an attack on Sutrium. The consul Aemilius marching to its relief, an obstinate battle is fought, terminating in favour of the Romans.*

Dum haec geruntur in Samnio, iam omnes Etruriae
populi praeter Arretinos ad arma ierant, ab oppugnando

Sutrio, quae urbs, socia Romanis, velut claustra Etruriae
erat, ingens orsi bellum. eo alter consul Aemilius cum 2
exercitu ad liberandos obsidione socios venit. advenien-
tibus Romanis Sutrini commeatus benigne in castra ante
urbem posita advexere. Etrusci diem primum consultando, 3
maturarent traherentne bellum, traduxerunt; postero die,
ubi celeriora quam tutiora consilia magis placuere ducibus,
sole orto signum pugnae propositum est armatique in
aciem procedunt. quod postquam consuli nuntiatum est, 4
extemplo tesseram dari iubet, ut prandeat miles firmatisque
cibo viribus arma capiat. dicto paretur. consul ubi arma- 5
tos paratosque vidit, signa extra vallum proferri iussit et
haud procul hoste instruxit aciem. aliquamdiu intenti
utrimque steterunt exspectantes, ut ab adversariis clamor
et pugna inciperet, et prius sol meridie se inclinavit, quam 6
telum hinc aut illinc emissum est; inde, ne infecta re
abiretur, clamor ab Etruscis oritur concinuntque tubae et
signa inferuntur; nec segnius a Romanis pugna initur. 7
concurrunt infensis animis; numero hostis, virtute Romanus
superat; anceps proelium multos utrimque et fortissimum 8
quemque absumit, nec prius inclinata res est, quam secunda
acies Romana ad prima signa, integri fessis, successerunt.
Etrusci, quia nullis recentibus subsidiis fulta prima acies 9
fuit, ante signa circaque omnes ceciderunt. nullo umquam
proelio fugae minus nec plus caedis fuisset, ni obstinatos
mori Tuscos nox texisset, ita ut victores prius quam victi
pugnandi finem facerent. post occasum solis signum re- 10
ceptui datum est; nocte ab utroque in castra reditum.
nec deinde quicquam eo anno rei memoria dignae apud 11
Sutrium gestum est, quia et ex hostium exercitu prima tota
acies deleta uno proelio fuerat, subsidiariis modo relictis,
vix quod satis esset ad castrorum praesidium, et apud 12
Romanos tantum vulnerum fuit, ut plures post proelium

33 saucii decesserint, quam ceciderant in acie. Q. Fabius,
insequentis anni consul, bellum ad Sutrium excepit; collega
Fabio C. Marcius Rutilus datus est; ceterum et Fabius
2 supplementum ab Roma adduxit, et novus exercitus domo
accitus Etruscis venit.

B.C. 310. *Ap. Claudius refusing to resign his censorship at the end of* 18 *months is attacked on the subject by the tribune P. Sempronius, who quotes the Aemilian law. Asked whether he would have obeyed that law if he had been censor when it was passed, Claudius answers in effect that the law applied at most to those individual censors and not to the censorship generally.*

3 Permulti anni iam erant, cum inter patricios magistratus
tribunosque nulla certamina fuerant, cum ex ea familia, cui
velut fato lis cum tribunis ac plebe erat, certamen oritur.
4 Ap. Claudius censor, circumactis decem et octo mensibus,
quod Aemilia lege finitum censurae spatium temporis erat,
cum C. Plautius collega eius magistratu se abdicasset, nulla
5 vi compelli, ut abdicaret, potuit. P. Sempronius erat
tribunus plebis, qui finiendae censurae intra legitimum
tempus actionem susceperat, non popularem magis quam
6 iustam nec in vulgus quam optimo cuique gratiorem. is
cum identidem legem Aemiliam recitaret auctoremque eius
Mam. Aemilium dictatorem laudibus ferret, qui quin-
quennalem ante censuram et longinquitate potestatis
dominantem intra sex mensum et anni coegisset spatium,
7 "dic, agedum" inquit, "Appi Claudi, quidnam facturus
fueris, si eo tempore, quo C. Furius et M. Geganius cen-
8 sores fuerunt, censor fuisses." negare Appius interroga-
tionem tribuni magno opere ad causam pertinere suam;
nam, etsi tenuerit lex Aemilia eos censores, quorum in
9 magistratu lata esset, quia post illos censores creatos eam
legem populus iussisset, quodque postremum iussisset, id

ius ratumque esset, non tamen aut se aut eorum quemquam, qui post eam legem latam creati censores essent, teneri ea lege potuisse.

Speech of P. Sempronius, in which he attacks Ap. Claudius as the lawless representative of a lawless house, who, as he shows by examples, have always considered themselves superior to the laws of Rome. An attempt to arrest Appius fails owing to the intervention of three of the tribunes. **34**

Haec sine ullius adsensu cavillante Appio, "en" inquit, "Quirites, illius Appi progenies, qui decemvir in annum creatus altero anno se ipse creavit, tertio nec ab se nec ab
ullo creatus privatus fasces et imperium obtinuit, nec ante 2
continuando abstitit magistratu, quam obruerent eum male
parta, male gesta, male retenta imperia. haec est eadem 3
familia, Quirites, cuius vi atque iniuriis compulsi, extorres patria Sacrum montem cepistis; haec, adversus quam tribu-
nicium auxilium vobis comparastis; haec, propter quam duo 4
exercitus Aventinum insedistis; haec, quae faenebres leges,
haec, quae agrarias semper impugnavit. haec conubia 5
patrum et plebis interrupit; haec plebi ad curules magistratus iter obsaepsit. hoc est nomen multo quam Tar-
quiniorum infestius vestrae libertati. itane tandem, Appi 6
Claudi? cum centesimus iam annus sit ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore, tot censores fuerint, nobilissimi fortissimique viri, nemo eorum duodecim tabulas legit? nemo id ius esse,
quod postremo populus iussisset, sciit? immo vero omnes 7
scierunt, et ideo Aemiliae potius legi paruerunt quam illi antiquae, qua primum censores creati erant, quia hanc postremam iusserat populus, et quia, ubi duae contrariae leges
sunt, semper antiquae obrogat nova. an hoc dicis, Appi, 8
non teneri Aemilia lege populum? an populum teneri, te
unum exlegem esse? tenuit Aemilia lex violentos illos cen- 9

sores, C. Furium et M. Geganium, qui, quid iste magistratus
in re publica mali facere posset, indicarunt, cum ira finitae
potestatis Mam. Aemilium, principem aetatis suae belli
10 domique, aerarium fecerunt; tenuit deinceps omnes cen-
sores intra centum annorum spatium; tenet C. Plautium,
11 collegam tuum iisdem auspiciis, eodem iure creatum. an
hunc non, ut qui optimo iure censor creatus esset, populus
creavit? tu unus eximius es, in quo hoc praecipuum ac
12 singulare valeat? quem tu regem sacrificiorum crees? am-
plexus regni nomen, ut qui optimo iure rex Romae creatus
sit, creatum se dicet. quem semestri dictatura, quem inter-
regno quinque dierum contentum fore putes? quem clavi
13 figendi aut ludorum causa dictatorem audacter crees? quam
isti stolidos ac socordes videri creditis eos, qui intra vice-
simum diem, ingentibus rebus gestis, dictatura se abdica-
14 verunt, aut qui vitio creati abierunt magistratu? quid ego
antiqua repetam? nuper intra decem annos C. Maenius
dictator, quia, cum quaestiones severius, quam quibusdam
potentibus tutum erat, exerceret, contagio eius, quod quaere-
bat ipse, criminis obiectata ab inimicis est, ut privatus ob-
15 viam iret crimini, dictatura se abdicavit. nolo ego istam
in te modestiam; ne degeneraveris a familia imperiosissima
et superbissima; non die, non hora citius, quam necesse est,
16 magistratu abieris, modo ne excedas finitum tempus. satis
est aut diem aut mensem censurae adicere? triennium,
inquit, et sex menses ultra, quam licet Aemilia lege, cen-
17 suram geram, et solus geram. hoc quidem iam regno simile
est. an collegam subrogabis, quem ne in demortui quidem
18 locum subrogari fas est? paenitet enim, quod antiquis-
simum sollemne et solum ab ipso, cui fit, institutum deo,
ab nobilissimis antistitibus eius sacri ad servorum minis-
19 terium religiosus censor deduxisti, gens antiquior originibus
urbis huius, hospitio deorum immortalium sancta, propter

te ac tuam censuram intra annum ab stirpe exstincta est,
nisi universam rem publicam eo nefario obstrinxeris, quod
ominari etiam reformidat animus. urbs eo lustro capta est, 20
quo, demortuo [collega] C. Iulio censore, L. Papirius
Cursor, ne abiret magistratu, M. Cornelium Maluginensem
collegam subrogavit. et quanto modestior illius cupiditas 21
fuit quam tua, Appi? nec solus nec ultra finitum lege
tempus L. Papirius censuram gessit; tamen neminem in-
venit, qui se postea auctorem sequeretur; omnes deinceps
censores post mortem collegae se magistratu abdicarunt.
te nec quod dies exiit censurae, nec quod collega magistratu 22
abiit, nec lex nec pudor coercet; virtutem in superbia, in
audacia, in contemptu deorum hominumque ponis. ego te, 23
Appi Claudi, pro istius magistratus maiestate ac verecundia,
quem gessisti, non modo manu violatum, sed ne verbo
quidem inclementiori a me appellatum vellem: sed et haec, 24
quae adhuc egi, pervicacia tua et superbia coegit me loqui,
et, nisi Aemiliae legi parueris, in vincla duci iubebo, nec, 25
cum ita comparatum a maioribus sit, ut comitiis censoriis,
nisi duo confecerint legitima suffragia, non renuntiato altero
comitia differantur, ego te, qui solus censor creari non possis,
solum censuram gerere patiar." haec taliaque cum dixisset, 26
prendi censorem et in vincla duci iussit. approbantibus sex
tribunis actionem collegae, tres appellanti Appio auxilio
fuerunt, summaque invidia omnium ordinum solus cen-
suram gessit.

Meanwhile Fabius marching to conduct the war before Sutrium in succession to Aemilius encounters a large force of Etruscans. A battle follows in which the Romans in spite of their inferiority in numbers by the advantage of their position and the use of missiles consisting largely of stones found on the spot win a victory. The Etruscans take refuge in the Silva Ciminia. **35**

Dum ea Romae geruntur, iam Sutrium ab Etruscis
obsidebatur, consulique Fabio imis montibus ducenti ad
ferendam opem sociis temptandasque munitiones, si qua
2 posset, acies hostium instructa occurrit; quorum ingentem
multitudinem cum ostenderet subiecta late planities, consul,
ut loco paucitatem suorum adiuvaret, flectit paululum in
clivos agmen (aspreta erant strata saxis); inde signa in
3 hostem obvertit. Etrusci omnium praeterquam multitudinis
suae, qua sola freti erant, immemores proelium ineunt adeo
raptim et avide, ut abiectis missilibus, quo celerius manus
4 consererent, stringerent gladios, vadentes in hostem. Ro-
manus contra nunc tela, nunc saxa, quibus eos adfatim locus
5 ipse armabat, ingerere. igitur scuta galeaeque ictae cum
etiam, quos non vulneraverant, turbarent, neque subire erat
facile ad propiorem pugnam, neque missilia habebant,
6 quibus eminus rem gererent; stantes et expositos ad ictus,
cum iam satis nihil tegeret, quosdam etiam pedem referentes,
fluctuantemque et instabilem aciem redintegrato clamore
7 strictis gladiis hastati et principes invadunt. eum impetum
non tulerunt Etrusci, versisque signis fuga effusa castra
repetunt; sed equites Romani praevecti per obliqua campi
cum se fugientibus obtulissent, omisso ad castra itinere
8 montes petunt; inde inermi paene agmine ac vexato vul-
neribus in silvam Ciminiam penetratum. Romanus, multis
milibus Etruscorum caesis, duodequadraginta signis milita-
ribus captis, castris etiam hostium cum praeda ingenti
potitur.

36 *The consul's brother knowing the Etruscan language volunteers to explore the forest and penetrates as far as the Camertes, and receives from them promise of assistance. Acting on his report Fabius advances into the forest as far as the first ridge of the Ciminian range. From there he plunders the country below and returns loaded with booty to find deputies from the Senate sent to forbid him to enter the forest.*

Tum de persequendo hoste agitari coeptum. silva erat
Ciminia magis tum invia atque horrenda, quam nuper fuere
Germanici saltus, nulli ad eam diem ne mercatorum quidem
adita. eam intrare haud fere quisquam praeter ducem
ipsum audebat; aliis omnibus cladis Caudinae nondum
memoria aboleverat. tum ex iis, qui aderant, consulis frater 2
(eum Fabium Caesonem alii, C. Claudium quidam, matre
eadem, qua consulem, genitum tradunt) speculatum se
iturum professus, brevique omnia certa adlaturum. Caere 3
educatus apud hospites, Etruscis inde litteris eruditus erat,
linguamque Etruscam probe noverat. habeo auctores, vulgo
tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis
litteris erudiri solitos; sed propius est vero, praecipuum 4
aliquid fuisse in eo, qui se tam audaci simulatione hostibus
immiscuerit. servus ei dicitur comes unus fuisse, nutritus
una eoque haud ignarus linguae eiusdem; nec quicquam 5
aliud proficiscentes quam summatim regionis, quae intranda
erat, naturam ac nomina principum in populis accepere, ne
qua inter colloquia insigni nota haesitantes deprendi pos-
sent. iere pastorali habitu, agrestibus telis, falcibus gaesis- 6
que binis, armati. sed neque commercium linguae nec
vestis armorumve habitus sic eos texit, quam quod ab-
horrebat ab fide, quemquam externum Ciminios saltus intra-
turum. usque ad Camertes Vmbros penetrasse dicuntur. 7
ibi, qui essent, fateri Romanum ausum, introductumque
in senatum consulis verbis egisse de societate amicitiaque,
atque inde comi hospitio acceptum, nuntiare Romanis 8
iussum, commeatum exercitui dierum triginta praesto fore,
si ea loca intrasset, iuventutemque Camertium Vmbrorum
in armis paratam imperio futuram. haec cum relata con- 9
suli essent, impedimentis prima vigilia praemissis, legionibus
post impedimenta ire iussis, ipse substitit cum equitatu, et 10
luce orta postero die obequitavit stationibus hostium, quae

extra saltum dispositae erant; et cum satis diu tenuisset
hostem, in castra sese recepit, portaque altera egressus ante
11 noctem agmen adsequitur. postero die luce prima iuga Ci-
minii montis tenebat; inde contemplatus opulenta Etruriae
12 arva milites emittit. ingenti iam abacta praeda, tumultuariae
agrestium Etruscorum cohortes, repente a principibus regionis
eius concitatae, Romanis occurrunt, adeo incompositae, ut
13 vindices praedarum prope ipsi praedae fuerint. caesis fu-
gatisque iis, late depopulato agro, victor Romanus opulentus-
14 que rerum omnium copia in castra rediit. eo forte quinque
legati cum duobus tribunis plebis venerant denuntiatum
Fabio senatus verbis, ne saltum Ciminium transiret. laetati,
serius se, quam ut impedire bellum possent, venisse, nuntii
victoriae Romam revertuntur.

37 *An Etruscan army, the largest ever yet sent, advances up to Sutrium. The consul, refusing battle at first, waits till shortly before dawn, then surprises the enemy who had lain down to sleep on the field and completely defeats them. Perusia, Cortona, and Arretium sue for peace and obtain* 30 *years' armistice.*

Hac expeditione consulis motum latius erat quam pro-
fligatum bellum; vastationem namque sub Ciminii montis
radicibus iacens ora senserat, conciveratque indignatione
2 non Etruriae modo populos, sed Vmbriae finitima. itaque,
quantus non umquam antea, exercitus ad Sutrium venit;
neque e silvis tantummodo promota castra, sed etiam, avidi-
tate dimicandi quam primum, in campos delata acies.
3 deinde instructa primo suo stare loco, relicto hosti ad
instruendum contra spatio; dein, postquam detrectare hos-
4 tem sensere pugnam, ad vallum subeunt. ubi postquam
stationes quoque receptas intra munimenta sensere, clamor
repente circa duces ortus, ut eo sibi e castris cibaria eius
diei deferri iuberent: mansuros se sub armis et aut nocte

aut certe luce prima castra hostium invasuros. nihilo 5
quietior Romanus exercitus imperio ducis continetur. de-
cima erat fere diei hora, cum cibum capere consul milites
iubet; praecipit, ut in armis sint, quacumque diei noctisve
hora signum dederit. paucis milites adloquitur; Samnitium 6
bella extollit, elevat Etruscos; nec hostem hosti nec multi-
tudinem multitudini comparandam ait; esse praeterea telum
aliud occultum; scituros in tempore; interea taceri opus
esse. his ambagibus prodi simulabat hostes, quo animus 7
militum multitudine territus restitueretur; et, quod sine
munimento considerant, veri similius erat, quod simula-
batur. curati cibo corpora quieti dant, et quarta fere vigilia
sine tumultu excitati arma capiunt. dolabrae calonibus 8
dividuntur ad vallum proruendum fossasque implendas.
intra munimenta instruitur acies; delectae cohortes ad por-
tarum exitus collocantur. dato deinde signo paulo ante 9
lucem, quod aestivis noctibus sopitae maxime quietis tempus
est, proruto vallo erupit acies, stratos passim invadit hostes;
alios immobiles, alios semisomnos in cubilibus suis, maxi-
mam partem ad arma trepidantes caedes oppressit. paucis 10
armandi se datum spatium est; eos ipsos non signum
certum, non ducem sequentes fundit Romanus fugatosque
persequitur. ad castra, ad silvas diversi tendebant. silvae
tutius dedere refugium; nam castra in campis sita eodem
die capiuntur. aurum argentumque iussum referri ad con-
sulem; cetera praeda militis fuit. caesa aut capta eo die 11
hostium milia ad sexaginta. eam tam claram pugnam
trans Ciminiam silvam ad Perusiam pugnatam quidam auc-
tores sunt, metuque in magno civitatem fuisse, ne inter-
clusus exercitus tam infesto saltu, coortis undique Tuscis
Vmbrisque, opprimeretur. sed ubicumque pugnatum est, 12
res Romana superior fuit. itaque a Perusia et Cortona et
Arretio, quae ferme capita Etruriae populorum ea tempes-

tate erant, legati pacem foedusque ab Romanis petentes indutias in triginta annos impetraverunt.

38 *Allifae is taken by the consul Marcius. The sailors of the Roman fleet plundering the Campanian coast are surprised by the enemy and suffer loss.*

The Samnites encouraged by false opinions about the expedition through the Ciminian forest march against Marcius. An indecisive battle is fought, in which Marcius is wounded. Papirius Cursor is appointed dictator. He taking the forces raised in consequence of the news of Fabius' expedition marches to Longula and receives from Marcius the remnants of his army. There is perhaps a gap in the narrative here (c. 39 § 4). *The next event mentioned is a defeat of the Umbrians, followed by a defeat of the Etruscans, from which they never recovered.*

Dum haec in Etruria geruntur, consul alter C. Marcius Rutilus Allifas de Samnitibus vi cepit. multa alia castella vicique aut deleta hostiliter aut integra in potestatem venere.
2 per idem tempus et classis Romana a P. Cornelio, quem senatus maritimae orae praefecerat, in Campaniam acta cum appulsa Pompeios esset, socii inde navales ad depopulandum agrum Nucerinum profecti, proximis raptim vastatis, unde reditus tutus ad naves esset, dulcedine, ut fit,
3 praedae longius progressi excivere hostes. palatis per agros nemo obvius fuit, cum occidione occidi possent; redeuntes agmine incauto haud procul navibus adsecuti agrestes exuerunt praeda, partem etiam occiderunt; quae superfuit caedi, trepida multitudo ad naves compulsa est.

4 Profectio Q. Fabi trans Ciminiam silvam quantum Romae terrorem fecerat, tam laetam famam in Samnium ad hostes tulerat, interclusum Romanum exercitum obsideri;
5 cladisque imaginem Furculas Caudinas memorabant: eadem temeritate avidam ulteriorum semper gentem in saltus invios deductam, saeptam non hostium magis armis quam

locorum iniquitatibus esse. iam gaudium invidia quadam 6
miscebatur, quod belli Romani decus ab Samnitibus fortuna
ad Etruscos avertisset. itaque armis virisque ad opprimen- 7
dum C. Marcium consulem concurrunt, protinus inde Etru-
riam per Marsos ac Sabinos petituri, si Marcius dimicandi
potestatem non faciat. obvius iis consul fuit. dimicatum 8
proelio utrimque atroci atque incerto eventu est, et cum
anceps caedes fuisset, adversae tamen rei fama in Romanos
vertit ob amissos quosdam equestris ordinis tribunosque
militum atque unum legatum et, quod insigne maxime fuit,
consulis ipsius vulnus. ob haec etiam aucta fama, ut solet, 9
ingens terror patres invasit, dictatoremque dici placebat;
nec, quin Cursor Papirius diceretur, in quo tum summa rei
bellicae ponebatur, dubium cuiquam erat. sed nec in 10
Samnium nuntium perferri, omnibus infestis, tuto posse
nec vivere Marcium consulem satis fidebant. alter consul 11
Fabius infestus privatim Papirio erat; quae ne ira obstaret
bono publico, legatos ex consularium numero mittendos ad
eum senatus censuit, qui sua quoque eum, non publica 12
solum auctoritate moverent, ut memoriam simultatium
patriae remitteret. profecti legati ad Fabium cum senatus 13
consultum tradidissent adiecissentque orationem convenien-
tem mandatis, consul demissis in terram oculis tacitus ab
incertis, quidnam acturus esset, legatis recessit; nocte de- 14
inde silentio, ut mos est, L. Papirium dictatorem dixit.
cui cum ob animum egregie victum legati gratias agerent,
obstinatum silentium obtinuit ac sine responso ac mentione
facti sui legatos dimisit, ut appareret, insignem dolorem
ingenti comprimi animo. Papirius C. Iunium Bubulcum 15
magistrum equitum dixit; atque ei legem curiatam de im-
perio ferenti triste omen diem diffidit, quod Faucia curia
fuit principium, duabus insignis cladibus, captae urbis et
Caudinae pacis, quod utroque anno eiusdem curiae fuerat

16 principium. Macer Licinius tertia etiam clade, quae ad
Cremeram accepta est, abominandam eam curiam facit.
39 dictator postero die auspiciis repetitis pertulit legem, et
profectus cum legionibus ad terrorem traducti silvam Cimi-
2 niam exercitus nuper scriptis ad Longulam pervenit, accep-
tisque a Marcio consule veteribus militibus in aciem copias
eduxit. nec hostes detrectare visi pugnam. instructos
deinde armatosque, cum ab neutris proelium inciperet, nox
3 oppressit. quieti aliquamdiu, nec suis diffidentes viribus
nec hostem spernentes, stativa in propinquo habuere. ****
4 [Nam et cum Vmbrorum exercitu acie depugnatum est;
fusi tamen magis quam caesi hostes, quia coeptam acriter
5 non tolerarunt pugnam;] et ad Vadimonis lacum Etrusci,
lege sacrata coacto exercitu, cum vir virum legisset, quantis
numquam alias ante, simul copiis, simul animis dimicarunt;
6 tantoque irarum certamine gesta res est, ut ab neutra parte
emissa sint tela. gladiis pugna coepit, et acerrime com-
missa ipso certamine, quod aliquamdiu anceps fuit, accensa
est, ut non cum Etruscis totiens victis, sed cum aliqua nova
7 gente videretur dimicatio esse. nihil ab ulla parte movetur
fugae; cadunt antesignani et, ne nudentur propugnatori-
8 bus signa, fit ex secunda prima acies. ab ultimis deinde
subsidiis cietur miles; adeoque ad ultimum laboris ac peri-
culi ventum est, ut equites Romani, omissis equis, ad
primos ordines peditum per arma, per corpora evaserint.
ea velut nova inter fessos exorta acies turbavit signa Etrus-
9 corum; secuta deinde impetum eorum, utcumque adfecta
erat, cetera multitudo tandem perrumpit ordines hostium.
10 tunc vinci pertinacia coepta et averti manipuli quidam, et,
ut semel dedere terga, etiam certiorem capessere fugam.
11 ille primum dies fortuna vetere abundantes Etruscorum
fregit opes. caesum in acie, quod roboris fuit; castra
eodem impetu capta direptaque.

B.C. 309. *Papirius wins a victory over two Samnite armies. Description of the splendid arms of the Samnites. These are displayed in the triumph celebrated by Papirius and afterwards used to adorn the Forum. Fabius also celebrates a triumph over the Etruscans, having since the battle of L. Vadimo again defeated the Etruscans before Perusia and compelled them to sue for peace.* 40

Pari subinde periculo gloriaeque eventu bellum in Sam-
nitibus erat, qui praeter ceteros belli apparatus, ut acies sua
fulgeret novis armorum insignibus, fecerunt. duo exercitus 2
erant; scuta alterius auro, alterius argento caelaverunt;
forma erat scuti: summum latius, qua pectus atque umeri
teguntur, fastigio aequali; ad imum cuneatior mobilitatis
causa. spongia pectori tegumentum, et sinistrum crus 3
ocrea tectum. galeae cristatae, quae speciem magnitudini
corporum adderent. tunicae auratis militibus versicolores,
argentatis linteae candidae. his dextrum cornu datum;
illi in sinistro consistunt. notus iam Romanis apparatus 4
armorum fuerat, doctique a ducibus erant, horridum militem
esse debere, non caelatum auro et argento, sed ferro et
animis fretum: quippe illa praedam verius quam arma esse, 5
nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem et vulnera;
virtutem esse militis decus, et omnia illa victoriam sequi, et 6
ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris praemium esse.
his Cursor vocibus instinctos milites in proelium ducit. 7
dextro ipse cornu consistit, sinistro praefecit magistrum
equitum. simul est concursum, ingens fuit cum hoste cer- 8
tamen, non segnius inter dictatorem et magistrum equitum,
ab utra parte victoria inciperet. prior forte Iunius commo- 9
vit hostem, laevo dextrum cornu, sacratos more Samnitium
milites, eoque candida veste et paribus candore armis in-
signes; eos se Orco mactare Iunius dictitans cum in-
tulisset signa, turbavit ordines et haud dubie impulit aciem.
quod ubi sensit dictator, "ab laevone cornu victoria in- 10

cipiet" inquit, "et dextrum cornu, dictatoris acies, alienam
pugnam sequetur, non partem maximam victoriae trahet?"
11 concitat milites; nec peditum virtuti equites aut legatorum
12 studia ducibus cedunt. M. Valerius a dextro, P. Decius
ab laevo cornu, ambo consulares, ad equites in cornibus
positos evehuntur, adhortatique eos, ut partem secum capes-
13 serent decoris, in transversa latera hostium incurrunt. is
novus additus terror cum ex parte utraque circumvasisset
aciem, et ad terrorem hostium legiones Romanae redinte-
grato clamore intulissent gradum, tum fuga ab Samnitibus
14 coepta. iam strage hominum armorumque insignium campi
repleri; ac primo pavidos Samnites castra sua accepere,
deinde ne ea quidem retenta; captis direptisque ante
15 noctem iniectus ignis. dictator ex senatus consulto trium-
phavit, cuius triumpho longe maximam speciem captiva
16 arma praebuere. tantum magnificentiae visum in iis, ut
aurata scuta dominis argentariarum ad forum ornandum
dividerentur. inde natum initium dicitur fori ornandi ab
17 aedilibus, cum tensae ducerentur. et Romani quidem ad
honorem deum insignibus armis hostium usi sunt; Campani
ab superbia et odio Samnitium gladiatores, quod specta-
culum inter epulas erat, eo ornatu armarunt Samnitiumque
nomine compellarunt.

18 Eodem anno cum reliquiis Etruscorum ad Perusiam,
quae et ipsa indutiarum fidem ruperat, Fabius consul nec
19 dubia nec difficili victoria dimicat. ipsum oppidum (nam
ad moenia victor accessit) cepisset, ni legati dedentes
20 urbem exissent. praesidio Perusiae imposito, legationibus
Etruriae amicitiam petentibus prae se Romam ad senatum
missis, consul praestantiore etiam quam dictator victoria
21 triumphans urbem est invectus; quin etiam devictorum
Samnitium decus magna ex parte ad legatos, P. Decium
et M. Valerium, est versum, quos populus proximis comitiis

ingenti consensu consulem alterum, alterum praetorem declaravit.

B.C. 308. *Fabius reduces Nuceria and wins a victory over the Samnites assisted for the first time by the Marsi and Peligni. Brilliant success of Decius, the other consul, against the Etruscans. An armistice is granted to them. The tranquillity that ensued however is disturbed by the Umbrians, who rouse many of the Etruscans to join them in an attack on Rome. Alarm in the city. But Fabius advancing by forced marches to Mevania the headquarters of the enemy wins an easy and decisive victory. The Umbrians all surrender.* 41

Fabio ob egregie perdomitam Etruriam continuatur consulatus. [Decio collega datur]. Valerius praetor quartum creatus. consules partiti provincias; Etruria Decio, Sam- 2
nium Fabio evenit. *is* profectus ad Nuceriam Alfaternam, 3
cum pacem petentes, quod uti ea, cum daretur, noluissent, aspernatus esset, oppugnando ad deditionem subegit.
cum Samnitibus acie dimicatum. haud magno certamine 4
hostes victi, neque eius pugnae memoria tradita foret, ni Marsi eo primum proelio cum Romanis bellassent. secuti Marsorum defectionem Peligni eandem fortunam habuerunt.
Decio quoque, alteri consuli, secunda belli fortuna erat. Tar- 5
quiniensem metu subegerat frumentum exercitui praebere
atque indutias in quadraginta annos petere. Vulsiniensium 6
castella aliquot vi cepit; quaedam ex iis diruit, ne receptaculo hostibus essent; circumferendoque passim bello tantum terrorem sui fecit, ut nomen omne Etruscum foedus ab
consule peteret. ac de eo quidem nihil impetratum; in- 7
dutiae annuae datae. stipendium exercitu Romano ab hoste in eum annum pensum, et binae tunicae in militem exactae; ea merces indutiarum fuit.

Tranquillas res iam Etruscis turbavit repentina de- 8

fectio Vmbrorum, gentis integrae a cladibus belli, nisi quod
9 transitum exercitus ager senserat. ii, concitata omni iuven-
tute sua, et magna parte Etruscorum ad rebellionem com-
pulsa, tantum exercitum fecerant, ut relicto post se in
Etruria Decio ad oppugnandam inde Romam ituros, magni-
fice de se ac contemptim de Romanis loquentes, iactarent.
10 quod inceptum eorum ubi ad Decium consulem perlatum
est, ad urbem ex Etruria magnis itineribus pergit et in agro
11 Pupiniensi ad famam intentus hostium consedit. nec
Romae spernebatur Umbrorum bellum, et ipsae minae
metum fecerant expertis Gallica clade, quam intutam urbem
12 incolerent. itaque legati ad Fabium consulem missi sunt,
ut, si quid laxamenti a bello Samnitium esset, in Vmbriam
13 propere exercitum duceret. dicto paruit consul magnisque
itineribus ad Mevaniam, ubi tum copiae Vmbrorum erant,
14 perrexit. repens adventus consulis, quem procul Vmbria
in Samnio bello alio occupatum crediderant, ita exterruit
Vmbros, ut alii recedendum ad urbes munitas, quidam
15 omittendum bellum censerent; plaga una (Materinam ipsi
appellant) non continuit modo ceteros in armis, sed con-
festim ad certamen egit. castra vallantem Fabium adorti
16 sunt. quos ubi effusos ruere in munimenta consul vidit,
revocatos milites ab opere, prout loci natura tempusque
patiebatur, ita instruxit; cohortatusque praedicatione vera
qua in Tuscis, qua in Samnio partorum decorum, exiguam
appendicem Etrusci belli conficere iubet et vocis impiae
poenas expetere, qua se urbem Romanam oppugnaturos
17 minati sint. haec tanta sunt alacritate militum audita, ut
clamor sua sponte ortus loquentem interpellaverit ducem.
ante imperium, ante concentum tubarum ac cornuum cursu
18 effuso in hostem feruntur. non tamquam in viros aut ar-
matos incurrunt; mirabilia dictu, signa primo eripi coepta
signiferis, deinde ipsi signiferi trahi ad consulem, armatique

milites ex acie in aciem transferri, et sicubi est certamen,
scutis magis quam gladiis geritur res; umbonibus incussa- 19
que ala sternuntur hostes. plus capitur hominum quam
caeditur, atque una vox ponere arma iubentium per totam
fertur aciem. itaque inter ipsum certamen facta deditio est 20
a primis auctoribus belli. postero insequentibusque diebus
et ceteri Vmbrorum populi deduntur; Ocriculani sponsione
in amicitiam accepti.

B.C. 307. *Ap. Claudius and L. Volumnius consuls. Volumnius* **42**
fights successfully against the Sallentini. Fabius whose imperium
has been prolonged for another year is equally successful against the Samnites at Allifae. B.C. 306. *The Hernici in consequence of the treatment of their citizens serving in the Samnite army, who were taken prisoners by Fabius, declare war against Rome.*

Fabius, alienae sortis victor belli, in suam provinciam
exercitum reduxit. itaque ei ob res tam feliciter gestas, 2
sicut priore anno populus continuaverat consulatum, ita
senatus in insequentem annum, quo Ap. Claudius, L.
Volumnius consules fuerunt, prorogavit, maxime Appio ad-
versante, imperium. Appium censorem petisse consulatum, 3
comitiaque eius ab L. Furio tribuno plebis interpellata,
donec se censura abdicarit, in quibusdam annalibus invenio.
creatus consul, cum collegae novum bellum, Sallentini 4
hostes decernerentur, Romae mansit, ut urbanis artibus
opes augeret, quando belli decus penes alios esset. Volum- 5
nium provinciae haud paenituit. multa secunda proelia
fecit; aliquot urbes hostium vi cepit. praedae erat largitor
et benignitatem per se gratam comitate adiuvabat, militem-
que his artibus fecerat et periculi et laboris avidum. Q. 6
Fabius pro consule ad urbem Allifas cum Samnitium exer-
citu signis collatis confligit. minime ambigua res fuit; fusi
hostes atque in castra compulsi, nec castra forent retenta,

ni exiguum superfuisset diei; ante noctem tamen sunt cir-
7 cumsessa et nocte custodita, ne quis elabi posset. postero
die, vixdum luce certa, deditio fieri coepta, et pacti, qui
Samnitium forent, ut cum singulis vestimentis emitterentur;
8 ii omnes sub iugum missi. sociis Samnitium nihil cautum;
ad septem milia sub corona veniere. qui se civem Herni-
9 cum dixerat, seorsus in custodia habitus. eos omnes
Fabius Romam ad senatum misit; et cum quaesitum
esset, dilectu an voluntarii pro Samnitibus adversus Roma-
nos bellassent, per Latinos populos custodiendi dantur,
10 iussique eam integram rem novi consules P. Cornelius
Arvina, Q. Marcius Tremulus (hi enim creati erant) ad
11 senatum referre. id aegre passi Hernici; concilium popu-
lorum omnium habentibus Anagninis in circo, quem Mari-
timum vocant, praeter Aletrinatem Ferentinatemque et
Verulanum omnes Hernici nominis populi Romano bellum
indixerunt.

43 *Fresh movements among the Samnites. The Hernici, worsted by Marcius, surrender. Marcius now advancing to assist Cornelius in Samnium is attacked by the Samnites, to prevent his joining his colleague. A general action follows in which the army of Cornelius extricated from a difficult position by the arrival of Marcius takes part. The camp of the Samnites is fired, and their army, as well as some reinforcements which arrive later, completely defeated. Triumph of Marcius. Temple of Salus begun. New roads made. Treaty with Carthaginians renewed for the third time.*

In Samnio quoque, quia decesserat inde Fabius, novi
motus exorti. Calatia et Sora praesidiaque, quae in iis
Romana erant, expugnata et in captivorum corpora mili-
2 tum foede saevitum. itaque eo P. Cornelius cum exercitu
missus; Marcio novi hostes (iam enim Anagninis Hernicis-
3 que aliis bellum iussum erat) decernuntur. primo ita omnia
opportuna loca hostes inter consulum castra interceperunt,

ut pervadere expeditus nuntius non posset, et per aliquot 4
dies incerti rerum omnium suspensique de statu alterius
uterque consul ageret, Romamque is metus manaret, adeo
ut omnes iuniores sacramento adigerentur, atque ad subita
rerum duo iusti scriberentur exercitus; ceterum Hernicum 5
bellum nequaquam pro praesenti terrore ac vetusta gentis
gloria fuit. nihil usquam dictu dignum ausi, trinis castris 6
intra paucos dies exuti, triginta dierum indutias, ita ut ad
senatum Romam legatos mitterent, pacti sunt bimestri
stipendio frumentoque et singulis in militem tunicis. ab 7
senatu ad Marcium reiecti, cui senatus consulto permissum
de Hernicis erat, isque eam gentem in deditionem accepit.
et in Samnio alter consul superior viribus, locis impeditior
erat. omnia itinera obsaepserant hostes saltusque pervios 8
ceperant, ne qua subvehi commeatus possent; neque eos,
cum cottidie signa in aciem consul proferret, elicere ad 9
certamen poterat, satisque apparebat, neque Samnitem
certamen praesens nec Romanum dilationem belli laturum.
adventus Marci, qui, Hernicis subactis, maturavit collegae 10
venire auxilio, moram certaminis hosti exemit. nam ut qui 11
ne alteri quidem exercitui se ad certamen credidissent pares,
coniungi utique passi duos consulares exercitus nihil crede-
rent superesse spei, advenientem incomposito agmine Mar-
cium aggrediuntur. Raptim collatae sarcinae in medium 12
et, prout tempus patiebatur, instructa acies. clamor primum
in stativa perlatus, dein conspectus procul pulvis tumultum
apud alterum consulem in castris fecit; isque, confestim 13
arma capere iussis raptimque eductis in aciem militibus,
transversam hostium aciem atque alio certamine occupatam
invadit, clamitans, summum flagitium fore, si alterum exer- 14
citum utriusque victoriae compotem sinerent fieri nec ad se
sui belli vindicarent decus. qua impetum dederat, perrum- 15
pit aciemque per mediam in castra hostium tendit, et vacua

16 defensoribus capit atque incendit. quae ubi flagrantia
Marcianus miles conspexit et hostes respexere, tum passim
fuga coepta Samnitium fieri; sed omnia obtinet caedes, nec
17 in ullam partem tutum perfugium est. iam triginta milibus
hostium caesis, signum receptui consules dederant collige-
bantque in unum copias, in vicem inter se gratantes, cum
repente visae procul hostium novae cohortes, quae in sup-
18 plementum scriptae fuerant, integravere caedem. in quas
nec iussu consulum nec signo accepto victores vadunt, malo
19 tirocinio imbuendum Samnitem clamitantes. indulgent con-
sules legionum ardori, ut qui probe scirent, novum militem
hostium inter perculsos fuga veteranos ne temptando quidem
20 satis certamini fore. nec eos opinio fefellit: omnes Samni-
tium copiae, veteres novaeque, montes proximos fuga capi-
unt. eo et Romana erigitur acies, nec quicquam satis tuti
loci victis est, et de iugis, quae ceperant, funduntur: iam-
21 que una voce omnes pacem petebant. tum trium mensium
frumento imperato et annuo stipendio ac singulis in militem
22 tunicis, ad senatum pacis oratores missi. Cornelius in
Samnio relictus; Marcius de Hernicis triumphans in urbem
rediit, statuaque equestris in foro decreta est, quae ante
23 templum Castoris posita est. Hernicorum tribus populis,
Aletrinati, Verulano, Ferentinati, quia maluerunt quam
civitatem, suae leges redditae, conubiumque inter ipsos,
quod aliquamdiu soli Hernicorum habuerunt, permissum.
24 Anagninis, quique arma Romanis intulerant, civitas sine
suffragii latione data; concilia conubiaque adempta et
magistratibus praeterquam sacrorum curatione interdic-
tum.

25 Eodem anno aedes Salutis a C. Iunio Bubulco censore
locata est, quam consul bello Samnitium voverat. ab
eodem collegaque eius M. Valerio Maximo viae per agros
26 publica impensa factae. et cum Carthaginiensibus eodem

anno foedus tertio renovatum, legatisque eorum, qui ad id venerant, comiter munera missa.

Dictator appointed to hold the comitia. B.C. 305. *Both consuls are sent to act against the Samnites. A battle, uncertain in its issue, is fought by Postumius at Tifernum. He then by a dexterous movement joins his colleague in the neighbourhood of Bovianum, and the two inflict a signal defeat on the Samnites. Bovianum is captured. The consul Minucius dies of wounds received in this action. Colossal statue of Hercules placed on the Capitolium.* 44

Dictatorem idem annus habuit P. Cornelium Scipionem
cum magistro equitum P. Decio Mure. ab his, propter 2
quae creati erant, comitia consularia habita, quia neuter
consulum potuerat bello abesse. creati consules L. Pos-
tumius, Ti. Minucius. hos consules Piso Q. Fabio et P. 3
Decio suggerit, biennio exempto, quo Claudium Volum-
niumque et Cornelium cum Marcio consules factos tradi-
dimus. memoriane fugerit in annalibus digerendis an con- 4
sulto binos consules, falsos ratus, transcenderit, incertum
est.

Eodem anno in campum Stellatem agri Campani Sam- 5
nitium incursiones factae. itaque ambo consules in Sam- 6
nium missi cum diversas regiones, Tifernum Postumius,
Bovianum Minucius petisset, Postumi prius ductu ad Tifer-
num pugnatum. alii haud dubie Samnites victos ac viginti 7
milia hominum capta tradunt, alii Marte aequo discessum, 8
et Postumium, metum simulantem, nocturno itinere clam in
montes copias abduxisse, hostes secutos duo milia inde
locis munitis et ipsos consedisse. consul ut stativa tuta 9
copiosaque (et ita erant) petisse videretur, postquam et
munimentis castra firmavit et omni apparatu rerum utilium
instruxit, relicto firmo praesidio, de vigilia tertia, qua [duci] 10
proxime potest, expeditas legiones ad collegam, et ipsum

11 adversus alios sedentem, ducit. ibi auctore Postumio
Minucius cum hostibus signa confert; et cum anceps
proelium in multum diei processisset, tum Postumius in-
tegris legionibus defessam iam aciem hostium improviso
12 invadit. itaque cum lassitudo ac vulnera fugam quoque
praepedissent, occidione occisi hostes, signa unum et
13 viginti capta, atque inde ad castra Postumi perrectum. ibi
duo victores exercitus perculsum iam fama hostem adorti
fundunt fugantque; signa militaria sex et viginti capta et
imperator Samnitium Statius Gellius multique alii mortales
14 et castra utraque capta. et Bovianum urbs postero die
coepta oppugnari brevi capitur, magnaque gloria rerum
15 gestarum consules triumpharunt. Minucium consulem, cum
vulnere gravi relatum in castra, mortuum quidam auctores
sunt, et M. Fulvium in locum eius consulem suffectum, et
ab eo, cum ad exercitum Minuci missus esset, Bovianum
16 captum. eo anno Sora, Arpinum, Cesennia recepta ab
Samnitibus, Herculis magnum simulacrum in Capitolio
positum dedicatumque.

45 B.C. 304. *On the petition of the Samnites peace is made with them and the old treaty between the two peoples renewed.*

War with the Aequi, who are subdued in a single campaign. The Sabellian tribes, Marsi, Peligni, Marrucini, Frentani, sue for peace and obtain it.

P. Sulpicio Saverrione, P. Sempronio Sopho consulibus
Samnites, seu finem seu dilationem belli quaerentes, legatos
2 de pace Romam misere. quibus suppliciter agentibus re-
sponsum est, nisi saepe bellum parantes pacem petissent
Samnites, oratione ultro citro habita de pace transigi potu-
isse; nunc, quando verba vana ad id locorum fuerint, rebus
3 standum esse. P. Sempronium consulem cum exercitu
brevi in Samnio fore; eum, ad bellum pacemne inclinent

animi, falli non posse; comperta omnia senatui relaturum;
decedentem ex Samnio consulem legati sequerentur. eo 4
anno cum pacatum Samnium exercitus Romanus, benigne
praebito commeatu, peragrasset, foedus antiquum Samniti-
bus redditum.

Ad Aequos inde, veteres hostes, ceterum per multos 5
annos sub specie infidae pacis quietos, versa arma Romana,
quod, incolumi Hernico nomine, missitaverant simul cum
iis Samniti auxilia, et post Hernicos subactos universa prope 6
gens sine dissimulatione consilii publici ad hostes desciverat;
et postquam, icto Romae cum Samnitibus foedere, fetiales
venerant res repetitum, temptationem aiebant esse, ut, terrore 7
incusso belli, Romanos se fieri paterentur, quod quanto
opere optandum foret, Hernicos docuisse, cum, quibus
licuerit, suas leges Romanae civitati praeoptaverint; quibus 8
legendi, quid mallent, copia non fuerit, pro poena necessa-
riam civitatem fore. ob haec vulgo in conciliis iactata
populus Romanus bellum fieri Aequis iussit; consulesque 9
ambo ad novum profecti bellum quattuor milia a castris
hostium consederunt. Aequorum exercitus, ut qui suo 10
nomine permultos annos imbelles egissent, tumultuario
similis, sine ducibus certis, sine imperio trepidare. alii 11
exeundum in aciem, alii castra tuenda censent; movet
plerosque vastatio futura agrorum ac deinceps cum levibus
praesidiis urbium relictarum excidia. itaque postquam 12
inter multas sententias una, quae, omissa cura communium,
ad respectum suarum quemque rerum vertit, est audita,
ut prima vigilia diversi e castris ad deportanda omnia 13
tuendasque moenibus urbes abirent, cuncti eam sententiam
ingenti adsensu accepere. palatis hostibus per agros, prima 14
luce Romani signis prolatis in acie consistunt, et, ubi nemo
obvius ibat, pleno gradu ad castra hostium tendunt; cete- 15
rum postquam ibi neque stationes pro portis nec quemquam

in vallo nec fremitum consuetum castrorum animadverte-
runt, insolito silentio moti metu insidiarum subsistunt.
16 transgressi deinde vallum, cum deserta omnia invenissent,
pergunt hostem vestigiis sequi; sed vestigia in omnes aeque
ferentia partes, ut in dilapsis passim, primo errorem facie-
17 bant. post per exploratores compertis hostium consiliis,
ad singulas urbes circumferendo bello unum et triginta
oppida intra dies quinquaginta, omnia oppugnando, cepe-
runt; quorum pleraque diruta atque incensa, nomenque
18 Aequorum prope ad internecionem deletum. de Aequis
triumphatum; exemploque eorum clades fuit, ut Marrucini,
Marsi, Peligni, Frentani mitterent Romam oratores pacis
petendae amicitiaeque. his populis foedus petentibus
datum.

46 *Cn. Flavius publishes the formulæ of civil procedure, and the calendar of court days. Censorship of Fabius who breaks the back of the* forensis factio *by sifting all the members of it into the four urban tribes.*

Eodem anno Cn. Flavius Cn. filius scriba, patre liber-
tino, humili fortuna ortus, ceterum callidus vir et facundus,
2 aedilis curulis fuit. invenio in quibusdam annalibus, cum
appareret aedilibus, fierique se pro tribu aedilem videret
neque accipi nomen, quia scriptum faceret, tabulam posuisse
3 et iurasse, se scriptum non facturum; quem aliquanto ante
desisse scriptum facere arguit Macer Licinius tribunatu
ante gesto triumviratibusque, nocturno altero, altero colo-
4 niae deducendae. ceterum, id quod haud discrepat, con-
tumacia adversus contemnentes humilitatem suam nobiles
5 certavit; civile ius, repositum in penetralibus pontificum,
evulgavit fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit, ut, quando
6 lege agi posset, sciretur; aedem Concordiae in area Vulcani
summa invidia nobilium dedicavit; coactusque consensu
populi Cornelius Barbatus pontifex maximus verba praeire,

cum more maiorum negaret nisi consulem aut imperatorem
posse templum dedicare. itaque ex auctoritate senatus 7
latum ad populum est, ne quis templum aramve iniussu
senatus aut tribunorum plebei partis maioris dedicaret.
haud memorabilem rem per se, nisi documentum sit ad- 8
versus superbiam nobilium plebeiae libertatis, referam. ad 9
collegam aegrum visendi causa Flavius cum venisset, con-
sensuque nobilium adulescentium, qui ibi adsidebant, adsur-
rectum ei non esset, curulem adferri sellam eo iussit ac
de sede honoris sui anxios invidia inimicos spectavit.
Ceterum Flavium dixerat aedilem forensis factio, Ap. 10
Claudi censura vires nacta, qui senatum primus libertino-
rum filiis lectis inquinaverat, et, posteaquam eam lectionem 11
nemo ratam habuit, nec in curia adeptus erat, quas petierat,
opes, urbanis humilibus per omnes tribus divisis forum
et campum corrupit; tantumque Flavi comitia indignitatis 12
habuerunt, ut plerique nobilium anulos aureos et phaleras
deponerent. ex eo tempore in duas partes discessit civitas; 13
aliud integer populus, fautor et cultor bonorum, aliud
forensis factio tendebat, donec Q. Fabius et P. Decius 14
censores facti, et Fabius simul concordiae causa, simul ne
humillimorum in manu comitia essent, omnem forensem
turbam excretam in quattuor tribus coniecit, urbanasque
eas appellavit. adeoque eam rem acceptam gratis animis 15
ferunt, ut Maximi cognomen, quod tot victoriis non
pepererat, hac ordinum temperatione pareret. ab eodem
institutum dicitur, ut equites idibus Quintilibus transvehe-
rentur.

NOTES

[Contractions used :—W.-M. = Weissenborn's ed., revised by H. J. Müller (5. Aufl., 1890); Lut. = Luterbacher's ed. (1891). In citing passages of Book IX. only the chapter and the section are given; Roman figures without author's name are used to denote the other books of Livy.]

CHAPTER 1

Page 1

§ 1 **hunc annum,** *i.e.* the 432nd year of Rome (B.C. 322).

nobilis clade Romana, 'notable for,' 'rendered famous by the disaster to the Roman arms.' *Nobilis* here, as often, almost = *insignis* (cf. VII. 1. 1, *annus...insignis novi hominis consulatu*; VIII. 16. 1, *annus novo bello insignis*; VIII. 22. 1, *annus nulla re insignis*).

pax, used with reference to the agreement made at the Caudine Forks; cf. c. 5. 2.

T. Veturio...consulibus. These two men had been joint consuls fourteen years before (B.C. 334). See VIII. 16. 12—17. 1.

§ 2 **C. Pontium.** C. = *Gaium*, or rather the older form *Gavium* (the Oscan form of the name is *Gaaviis*), apparently cognate with *gaudeo*, *gavisus* (Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 252). Even at the present day the incorrect form *Caius* is often written by scholars who ought to know better. In the Latin alphabet the symbol C originally represented the sound which was later denoted by G, but when the symbol K was practically superseded by C it was found awkward to have C representing two sounds, and the letter G was invented for the sound which C formerly represented (about 300 B.C.?). Thus CAIVS became GAIVS;

the old contraction, however, was retained. Cf. Quint. I. 7. 28 *Quid, quae scribuntur aliter quam enuntiantur? nam et 'Gaius' C littera significatur.* Similarly Cn. stands for *Gnaeus* (earlier *Gnaivos*), not for *Cnaeus* (still less for *Cneius*).

longe prudentissimo, 'by far the wisest' (of his time or of his countrymen), 'of unrivalled wisdom.'

§ 3 **legati.** See Introduction, p. xvi.

ad dedendas res, 'to make restitution,' 'to give satisfaction.' 'To demand satisfaction' for injuries from an enemy is in Latin *res repetere* (cf. § 4, and see note on *fetialibus*, c. 5. 1). *Res dedere* or *reddere* is used of the surrender of what is demanded. The word *res* has no equivalent in English. Its meaning in each passage must be inferred from the context. This will be made clear by consulting the renderings given in the notes on many of the passages cited in the Latin Index under *res*. In the expressions noted above *res* doubtless originally meant what had been stolen by the enemy, especially cattle.

ne nihil actum...censeatis. These words strictly depend, not on *expiatum*, but on a verb of saying understood: 'Lest you think that nothing has been accomplished, I tell you this...' The same looseness is often found in English parenthetical phrases, such as, 'not to mention,' 'to omit' (*ut omittam*, c. 17. 6). Similarly *ut...ordiar*, c. 17. 5, *ut ita dicam*, c. 18. 2. We may translate thus: 'You must not think that this embassy has accomplished nothing; all the divine wrath which the rupture of the treaty brought upon us has been expiated.' See Roby II. § 1660.

nihil actum. *Nihil agere* is often used of fruitless effort.

quicquid... For the order cf. c. 16. 3, *plus ea voce...terroris iniectum. irarum* is Partitive Genitive (so-called) depending on *quicquid.* Livy is very fond of attaching such a genitive to the neut. of a pronoun (cf. §§ 3 and 6).

in nos goes closely with *irarum.*

foedere rupto. See Introduction, p. xv n., and n. on *expiationem spretam*, § 4.

§ 4 **cordi fuit**, 'it was pleasing.' The phrase *cordi esse* is frequent in Livy, especially with *dis.* It seems to have been originally a locative case formed like *ruri* (cf. the Eng. 'at heart' and the Latin *animi* in such phrases as *animi pendere*, 'to hesitate in one's mind,' or 'to be in suspense'). But the Romans evidently came to regard it as a predicative dative, as is indicated by the constant use of a dative of person along with it.

dedendi res, quae...repetitae fuerant, 'of making the restitution demanded from us.' See above, § 3 n.

repetitae fuerant=*repetitae erant*; cf. c. 25. 2 *mota fuerant*, c. 43. 17 *scriptae fuerant*. This usage seems to be rare in authors before Livy, and apparently belongs to popular speech. Livy also uses, in conjunction with a perfect participle, *fuero*=*ero* (*e.g.* c. 26. 19, *datum fuerit*; see, further, n. on c. 11. 13, *visum fuerit*), *fuerim*=*sim*, and *fuissem*=*essem*. There are, however, many instances in which both the participle and the auxiliary retain their proper force; *e.g.* c. 40. 4, II. 27. 1, *qui ante nexi fuerant* ('had been in bondage to') *creditoribus*; this seems to be always the case with *fui* and *fuisse*; see n. on *saeptae fuerunt*, c. 11. 3.

Popular speech always has a tendency to consider the correct literary idiom insufficient, and to try to strengthen it. Such a sentence as 'I should have liked to have gone,' for 'I should have liked to go' is very often heard, and shows a tendency similar to that of the Latin idiom under consideration. Perhaps Livy's popular idioms are the chief constituent of the *Patavinitas* with which Asinius Pollio charged him. For a few other instances see Eng. Index, under 'Popular speech.'

expiationem spretam, 'the slighting of our atonement'; a very common Latin idiom, of which there are many examples in this book, *e.g.* § 3, *foedere rupto*, c. 3. 13, *ante poenas expetitas*. See also Eng. Index under 'Participle.' Latin generally shows a dislike of abstract nouns.

Translate: 'the haughty repulse which our atonement has met with at the hands of the Romans.'

§ 5 **ultra...quam quod.** As *ultra* has a comparative meaning it naturally takes *quam* after it. Cf. XXVIII. 39. 1. The construction is quite common. See also n. on *pridie quam*, c. 11. 4.

in praeda=in the category or class of booty, hence 'as booty.'

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§ 6 **auctores belli.** 'Those responsible for the war.' See c. 8. 12 n.

quia vivos... Brutulus Papius, the Samnite general, committed suicide to avoid being surrendered to the Romans; VIII. 39. 14. The plural is probably a rhetorical exaggeration, though another version, given by Appian, speaks of more than one *auctor belli* whose dead body was sent to Rome.

perfunctos iam fato, 'after they had met their end'; a poetical expression (see Eng. Index), though similar phrases are found in

various prose authors. Quintilian, III. 7. 10, has *qui fato sunt functi*; so Tacitus, whose language has a strong poetical tinge, *Ann.* XI. 2, XIV. 12.

noxae. So-called 'Partitive Genitive,' depending on *quid.* For the order cf. § 3 supra.

§ 7 **quid ultra.** Rhetorical repetition from § 5 init.

tibi, Romane. Such an apostrophe is more usual in poetry. Livy is fond of the singular used in a collective sense for the plural in proper nouns denoting nationalities, as *Romanus* (c. 2. 5), *Poenus*; also in some common nouns belonging to military language, *e.g. hostis*, 'the enemy,' *miles*, 'the soldiers.' Cf. the use of 'enemy' in English, and see Eng. Index under 'Singular.'

quem...feram. 'Whom shall I offer you as judge of your quarrel or of the penalties I deserve?' The expression *iudicem ferre* was used in Roman legal terminology of a plaintiff who proposed someone as *iudex* to try his case. The defendant could cancel the nomination by a protest under oath (*iniquum eiurare*, Cic. *de Or.* II. 70. 285, *Verr.* III. 60. 137).

§ 8 **quod si...inopi.** 'But if no shred of common justice is being left to the helpless in dealing with a superior power.' *cum potentiore* goes closely with *iuris*; *cum*='in his relations with.' Cf. VI. 14. 8, *quodcumque sibi cum patria...iuris fuerit*, 'whatever claims his country had had upon him.'

iuris humani, *i.e.* what mankind in general would recognize as being only just and right, 'common justice'; not=*ius gentium*, which refers to 'usage actually existing everywhere' (Nettleship), and has no ethical connotation. See n. on c. 10. 10.

at, 'nevertheless,' 'in spite of that'; several times after *si* in Livy. Cf. c. 8. 8, 9 and I. 41. 3, *si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere*, 'if your own counsels are paralysed..., yet follow mine.' In such sentences *si* practically=*etsi.*

§ 9 **suae...accumulatae,** 'the restoration of their own, abundantly increased by other men's property.'

domini, 'of the owner.'

lănĭāndăquĕ vīscĕră nōstră. These words might conclude a hexameter line. Such metrical collocations of words are admitted by Livy to an extent which would have shocked Cicero. It was remarked as early as Quintilian (IX. 4. 74) that the *Praefatio* of Bk I. began with words which might begin a hexameter line, *Facturusne operae pretium sim.* The most striking instance is XXII. 50. 10, where

we have a hexameter and a half: *Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vad[it]*... (This may be a quotation.) See Eng. Index under 'Metre.'

viscera, 'flesh': the word is often mistranslated.

§ 10 **pia arma**. For *pius* see n. on c. 8. 6.

relinquitur. Not 'is left' (*relictum est*), as one is tempted to translate it, but 'is being left.' Cf. § 8 init. All other hope is being taken away by the action of the Romans.

§ 11 **rerum humanarum...agant dis**, 'the amount of favour or of displeasure with which heaven views men's actions makes all the difference in the world [is of vital moment] to their fortunes.' *Momentum* (*i.e. movimentum*) = what serves to turn the scale, the determining factor. *max. mom. sit* is a more expressive way of saying *plurimum interest*, and the indir. question after it is natural enough. *quam* is here adv., not rel. adj. agreeing with *rem. propitiis...dis* is Ablative Absolute.

pro certo, c. 11. 4 n.

priora bella...gessisse, hoc...gesturos. Livy means not, 'that we waged former wars against gods...but that we shall wage this war ...with the gods themselves as our leaders,' but 'that whereas we waged...we shall wage....' The corresponding Greek would be a combination of a μέν-clause and a δέ-clause.

gessisse...gesturos. With these infinitives supply *nos* or *vos* as subject. A similar ellipsis is found in c. 4. 3, *missurum*, 10. 10, *gesturos*, etc. See Eng. Index under 'Infinitive.' Often a word like *se* may have dropped out in the MSS.; see Marshall on VI. 6. 13.

CHAPTER 2

§ 1 **non laeta magis quam vera**. The English idiom is rather 'not less true than cheering.'

circa, 'in the neighbourhood of.'

Caudium. See note on *furculae Caudinae*, § 6.

§ 2 **ad Calatiam**. Not 'to Calatia,' which would be in Latin *Calatiam* without *ad*. *Ad* with the name of a town may signify 'towards' or 'to the neighbourhood of' (c. 39. 1). Either meaning will suit this passage. Some scholars (*e.g.* Riemann, *Syn. lat.* p. 76) would limit the meaning 'towards' to sentences where there is no verb expressing motion, *e.g.* Cic. *Phil.* XII. 9. 22, *tres viae sunt ad Mutinam*; but it is difficult to accept such a distinction (see § 6 *ad Luceriam*). Cf.

XXV. 22. 14 (Roby, vol. II., § 1111 gives wrong ref.) *ad Brundisium flexit iter*, VIII. 19. 13 (but *Capuam flectit iter*, XXIII. 2. 1); Cic. *Sen.* 10. 4 (incorrectly quoted by Riemann), *adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum.* For Livy's use of *a* or *ab* with the name of a town see n. on c. 4. 14.

[*Ad* with the accusative also often means 'near,' as in c. 37. 11.]

Calatiam (whose name now survives in S. Giacomo alle Galazze), a few miles S.E. of Capua, on the line of the later Via Appia. It must not be confused with Caiatia, mod. Caiazzo, N.E. of Capua, just inside the boundary of Samnium.

audiebat. The imperfect shows that repeated messages reached Pontius. It must not be translated as if it were perf. or pluperf.

pastorum habitu, 'in the guise of shepherds,' 'in shepherds' dress.' Such an ablative (sometimes called Abl. of Circumstance) is half-way between the literal Abl. of Accompaniment or Association and the Abl. of Manner. These ablatives take *cum* except when an attribute is attached. The attribute is generally an adjective (cf. c. 36. 6, *pastorali habitu*), but may be a genitive (c. 5. 7, *beluarum modo*). The old instrumental case was used to denote both means and accompaniment, and both meanings may be seen in the Abl. of Manner, which is derived from it. That the meaning of accompaniment predominated is shown by the rule which compels the use of *cum* except in the special case mentioned above. On the other hand, some of the few exceptions without *cum* may be explained as denoting instrument or means, *e.g. cursu* (c. 13. 2) and sometimes *consensu*; either meaning will explain *vitio* (c. 7. 14). See also n. on *contumacia*, c. 46. 4. For *habitu* with gen. cf. c. 7. 11.

diversos, 'in different directions,' a frequent use of *diversus*; cf. c. 37. 10, 45. 13. The word is scarcely necessary with *alium alibi*.

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§ 3 **ut.** Not necessarily depending on *iubet*, which in Livy, as in other authors, generally takes the infin., but rather introducing a command in Oratio Obliqua. Cf. c. 4. 2 *uti provocarent*, though there *uti* may introduce a purpose-clause.

ut idem omnibus sermo constet, 'that their tale should be consistently the same'; *constet*=stand together, be consistent.

Luceriam, in the north of Apulia.

omnibus copiis. Cf. c. 15. 1 n.

circumsedere, sc. *eos* (*i.e. Samnites*) rather than *legiones Samnitium.*

nec procul abesse. Note that in Oratio Recta this would regularly be *non procul abest*, not *n. p. absunt.*

§ 4 **et**, 'also' or 'even.' This meaning is rare in old Latin, and occurs perhaps once in Caesar (*B. G.* VII. 66. 6, according to some MSS.). It is found occasionally in Cicero, but much oftener in Livy. (Riemann, *Études*, p. 277.)

de industria, 'of set purpose'; frequent in Livy.

fidem auxere, 'strengthened their belief in the report.'

captivi. In all probability the ten soldiers mentioned above, who were captured by *praedatores* (§ 3). Mommsen, however, speaks of 'accounts, confirmed by the affirmation of *numerous captives*, that the Samnites had closely invested Luceria.' (Eng. trans., vol. I. p. 470.)

eo. Often used, like *ideo* and *propterea*, to call attention to a following *quod*-clause = 'for this reason.' See n. on c. 11. 11.

§ 5 **Romanus**, c. 1. 7 n.

ferret. It is commonly said that *ferret* here is (as grammar certainly allows it to be occasionally) equal to *laturus esset*, but it ought to be evident, in the light of the context, that the meaning of the words is 'There was no doubt that the Romans must bring help,' or rather 'The Romans had no doubt that they must bring help,' 'did not hesitate about bringing...' Cf. c. 38. 9 *nec, quin Cursor Papirius diceretur...dubium cuiquam erat*, 'and no one had any doubt that Papirius Cursor must be nominated.' The latter instance is clearer, as *cuiquam* is attached to *dubium*; if Livy had written *haud erat dubium Romanis* the sentence under consideration would not have been misunderstood, but that this is his meaning the next sentence shows clearly. [Since writing the above I have noticed that Prof. Walters takes this view in his ed. of cc. 1—19.

The subjunctive is probably 'indirect jussive.' *Feramus* = 'let us bring' or 'we must bring'; *haud dubium erat quin ferrent* = 'there was no doubt in their minds that they must bring.'

bonis ac fidelibus sociis = ἅτε ἀγαθοῖς τε καὶ πιστοῖς συμμάχοις οὖσιν: one reason for the certainty that the Romans would go to the help of Luceria; the other reason is expressed by the *ne*-clause. Translate: 'for not only were they worthy and loyal allies, but Apulia might rise in a general revolt in the face of the panic at their doors.' For the variation *bonis...simul ne*, cf. c. 6. 4 and n. on 4. 8.

ad, 'in the face of,' 'on the occasion of.' See Lat. Index and

compare also XXV. 37. 13 *ad haec tot tam necopinata incerti stupentesque referunt pedem.*

ea...fuit. 'The only subject of deliberation was the route to be taken'; lit. 'This only, namely by what way they should go, was a (subject of) deliberation.'

ea. In such sentences demonstrative and relative pronouns are regularly 'attracted' into the gender and number of the noun in the predicate. Cf. c. 9. 13, *ea demum sponsio esset*; c. 26. 7, *ea* (*i.e. ii*) *capita erant*; II. 13. 5, *agrum...quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata*, 'a field which was afterwards called "The Meadows of Mucius,"' and the famous *hic labor est*, Verg. *Aen.* VI. 129. There are some exceptions to the rule, *e.g.* II. 38. 5, *si hoc profectio...est* (see Conway's n.), III. 38. 3. See Roby, vol. II. § 1068.

qua irent, an indir. question representing a deliberative subjunctive (*qua eamus?*) in direct speech.

§ 6 **ad Luceriam**, 'in the direction of L.' See § 2 n.

ferebant, 'led.' The object (*e.g. viatorem*) must be supplied as in the English. Cf. c. 45. 16, and see n. on *mutaverant*, c. 12. 3.

superi maris, the Adriatic.

patens apertaque, 'open and accessible'; *aperta* is contrasted with *clausus* (§ 7 n.).

quanto...longior, lit. 'almost as much longer as it was safer,' *i.e.* 'exceeding the other in length almost as much as in safety.'

The longer road presumably led northwards along the frontier of Campania to Sora (situated near the mid-point of the eastern border of Latium), then, taking advantage of the low ground of the upper Liris-valley, continued its northward course till it reached the neighbourhood of the Lacus Fucinus (mod. L. Fucino), and thereupon turned eastward, perhaps along the course of the later Via Claudia Valeria, to the Adriatic Coast; thence it would lead southward, mostly following the coast line, through the territory of the Frentani, and, reaching Apulia, probably struck almost due south to Luceria. This route though *patens apertaque* was long, and it must have been rather arduous, for it could not wholly avoid the mountains in the territory of the Marsi and Paeligni.

altera per Furculas Caudinas, *i.e.* doubtless on the course over which in later times the continuation of the Via Appia ran between Capua and Beneventum, through the upper valley of the Isclero. Caudium (apparently = the modern Montesarchio) was on this road. The Isclero valley in this region consists of a meadow (*campus*, § 7)

almost wholly enclosed by hills (*clausus in medio*). On the west side, near Arpaja, is a narrow defile (*primae angustiae*) now known as Forche Caudine, and there is little doubt that it was here that the Roman army entered the enclosed valley. On the other side of the valley, five English miles distant, near Montesarchio, is the second defile (*alius saltus*, § 8). The reason of the title *Furculae* (little forks) is not quite clear, but it is probable that the narrow defiles with the mountains branching out from them on each side (*montibus circa perpetuis inter se iunctis*) suggested two-pronged forks. The diminutive is natural in rustic speech. It is better to suppose that the name was strictly applied to the defiles and the branching mountains, not to the valley itself; thus we can give the natural meaning 'near' to *ad* in c. 3. 6; cf. Florus I. 11 (16). 9, *apud Caudinas furculas*. O. Keller (*Lateinische Volksetymologie u. Verwandtes*) thinks that *furculae* comes by a popular confusion from Gk φόρκες = χάρακες, but a Greek origin is very improbable. See the map in this ed.

§ 7 **ita natus locus est**, 'the nature of the locality is as follows.' *Natus* used thus of things is not Ciceronian; perhaps the earliest instance is Varro, *R. R.* I. 6. 1, *ager bene natus*, 'with good natural properties.'

circa, c. 15. 1 n.

perpetuis, *i.e.* there is an unbroken chain of mountains stretching on each side from one *saltus* to the other. As a matter of fact there was on the north side another pass, of which Livy seems to know nothing. We must suppose that it was guarded like the others.

satis, 'tolerably.' Cf. the use of *assez* in mod. French.

clausus in medio, lit. 'enclosed in the intervening space'; hardly necessary with *inter eos* preceding, but it furnishes an antithesis to *aperta* (§ 6). The longer road was *patens apertaque*; the *campus* is *satis patens* but *clausus*. In § 6 *patens* seems to mean 'free to all to traverse,' 'unobstructed' (cf. VII. 36. 11 *cum per exploratores notior iam saltus esset, via patentiore ad hostem ducuntur*); as applied to the *campus* it rather means 'extensive.'

Translate: 'Between them lies a humid meadow, fairly extensive but enclosed on all sides.'

medium goes with *quem*, of course, not with *iter*.

§ 8 **venias**, indefinite second person, very common in Latin. It is less colloquial than the similar use of 'you' in Eng. See note on *pergas* below.

retro repetenda, a common type of pleonasm. Cf. § 10.

ire pergas. Contrast the use of *pergo* without an infin. in § 9.

pergas. A verb used in the indefinite second person is regularly subjunctive, sometimes (in dependent clauses) with no other force than that of distinguishing it from the ordinary 2nd person. Cf. Iuv. *Sat.* III. 297, *dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas, tantundem est.*

§ 9 **via alia...alias angustias.** There are several examples in Livy of *alius...alius* used for *alter...alter*, especially when the author wishes to emphasize the distinctness of, or the difference between, two things rather than the number of them. Cf. I. 21. 6, *ita duo deinceps reges alius alia via...civitatem auxerunt*; III. 28. 4 (*alibi...alibi*); XXVI. 5. 6. Moritz Müller (on I. 21. 6) compares the Homeric ἄλλος μέν...ἄλλος δέ. *via* is rather loosely contrasted with *angustias*.

cavam rupem, 'rocky gorge.'

demisso. Often used of leading an army from higher to lower ground. Cf. c. 27. 4; VII. 34. 3, *quoad in vallem infimam demitteret agmen.*

remisso, the reading supported by the MSS., is due either to the influence of the two preceding words, which begin with the letter *r*, or to a misconception of the meaning.

deiectu arborum saxorumque...mole. Note the variation (abstract coupled with 'concrete'). See note on c. 4. 8, *opera ac muniendum.*

cum...apparuisset...conspicitur. A 'historic' present may be treated as a primary or as a secondary tense, but the latter is the usual treatment when the dependent clause precedes. Roby, vol. II. § 1512.

hostilis = *hostium*, a poetical turn, found several times in Livy. Cf. Verg. *A.* III. 322, *hostilem ad tumulum*, though in most of the passages where Vergil uses the word it seems to have at least a tinge of the meaning 'hostile' or 'hateful'; similarly in c. 5. 8. Cf. c. 13. 3, and see Eng. Index under 'Adjective.'

in summo saltu, 'on the summit of the ravine,' *i.e.* of the *aliae angustiae.*

§ 10 **citati** = an adverb, 'with haste.' Cf. c. 5. 12, 15. 10 n., II. 10. 3, etc. etc.

sua. It too had its [own] barrier. The Eng. idiom is similar. For *sua* see n. on c. 6. 6.

armis, not exactly = *militibus*, as Lut. says. It is the bristling arms that attract their attention.

velut torpor quidam. *velut* (like *tamquam* and *quasi*) is often used to modify a word or phrase, especially a metaphor; cf. c. 17. 1.

Quidam agreeing with a noun has the same function, *e.g.* c. 10. 2 Here both words are used. Cf. Cic. *Lael.* XIII. 48, *virtutem quasi ferream quandam esse volunt*; *De Or.* II. 9. 36, *quasi quibusdam verborum sententiarumque insignibus.* Tr.: 'a sort of unnatural numbness.' The Romans were shy in their use of metaphorical expressions, which they often qualified in the method mentioned above where a qualification would seem unnatural in English.

§§ 11—14. A good example of Livy's word-portraiture; note especially the picture which he conveys in a single period (§§ 12—14), the skilful arrangement of which will repay study.

§ 11 **quisque...ducerent**, n. on c. 3. 1.

compotem mentis consiliique, 'master of his senses and judgment,' 'capable of thinking and planning.' Objective Gen.

§ 12 **praetoria**, c. 13. 1 n.

operi, *i.e.* entrenchment, as the next clause shows.

§ 13 **pro se quisque...versi circumdant.** See nn. on c. 3. 1 and c. 7. 5.

quisque, n. on c. 3. 1.

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propter, 'near.'

§ 14 **sua ipsi opera**, *ipsi* agreeing with the subject of the sentence; more idiomatic than *sua ipsorum opera.* Cf. c. 34. 1 *se ipse creavit.*

praeterquam quod..., lit. 'besides the fact that....' Supply *eos* as obj. of *increpabant.* Tr.: 'themselves swelling the overweening taunts of the enemy with mockery of their own useless works and vain labour, the futility of which they pathetically admitted to one another.'

§ 15 **advocantes.** The object may be supplied from *legati ac tribuni* below, but it may be more general, as centurions were often summoned to the *consilium* (council of war).

quando...esset, virtually oblique; the subjunctive represents the reason as existing in the minds of the generals. It might also give the reason as having been stated by them; cf. c. 8. 12. *nec...locus esset*, like the Eng. 'there was no room for.'

praetorium, c. 13. 1 n.

Chapter 3

§ 1 **querentes**, 'deploring their fate.' The stock translation of *queri*, 'to complain,' is often unsuitable.

oppressit, 'overtook': frequently used in military language of taking by surprise.

pro ingenio quisque fremerent, alius...alius. The subject of *fremerent* is understood, and both *quisque* and *alius...alius* are in apposition to it. Such constructions are frequent both in Latin and in Greek. '...they kept clamouring, each as his nature prompted (according to his nature), one saying,...another saying...' In translating it will be better to begin a new sentence after *fremerent*: 'One would say, "Let us go...."' *pro ingenio quisque* = the more regular *pro suo quisque ingenio*.

obices viarum, *i.e.* the barriers which lay in their path, whether they went back or forward.

adversa montium. Such a use of the genitive with a neuter adjective (not an adj. of quantity) is one of the poetical constructions most affected by Livy. Sallust seems to have been the first prose writer to use it freely; it is seldom found in Cicero or Caesar (Riemann, *Études*, p. 103). The genitive usually has a 'partitive' meaning, *e.g.* XXI. 31. 2, *mediterranea Galliae*, 'the central parts of Gaul,' III. 17. 7, *ultimum orationis*, 'the last part of the speech,' and all such uses are generally referred to the 'Partitive Genitive,' though it is admitted that the 'partitive' sense is sometimes very faint. In the present instance *adversa montium* properly means 'the confronting elements' or 'the opposition of the mountains,' and the genitive may be 'partitive,' or may simply denote connexion, as it often does when depending on a substantive (and *adversa* is here a substantive).

Editors say that *adversa montium* = *adversos montes*, but this hardly seems more reasonable than to say that 'the depths (or "deeps") of the ocean' is exactly equal to 'the deep sea.' In such phrases there is probably always, at least in the best writers, a certain emphasis on the adjective. Even *strata viarum* (Lucr. I. 315; Verg. *Aen.* I. 423) seems to mean rather 'the paving (pavement) of the streets' than simply 'paved streets.'

A parallel to the distinction which this note attempts to bring out is found in Verg. *Georg.* I. 143, where the poet speaks of *ferri rigor* (not *ferrum rigidum*) as being discovered by primitive man; it was not merely iron, but above all its useful quality of hardness, which was discovered. Editors who explain *ferri rigor* as = *ferrum rigidum* seem to fall into the same error as those who explain *adversa montium* as = *adversos montes*.

The meaning of the neuter of a Latin adjective is so wide and

indefinite that an exact English rendering is generally impossible. Often the singular or plural of an abstract noun will suffice; cf. *ex alto animi*, 'from the depth (or "depths") of the heart,' c. 7. 3. See also n. on *per omnia pacata*, c. 13. 6.

qua=*quacumque*; cf. c. 43. 15, and *utros*, c. 14. 1 n.

§2 **modo.** Often *dum modo* in this sense ('provided that'). Cf. c. 19. 17.

prope triginta, a hyperbole, which ignores the peace from 341—328.

vincimus. The present tense is regular in such a sentence with *iam* and a word or phrase expressing extent of time. Latin emphasises the present continuance of the action or state denoted by the verb; English emphasises its past existence. Thus *iam pridem vincimus* = 'we have long been conquerors.' See c. 18. 9, c. 25. 5. Cf. the use of *πάλαι* in Greek and *longtemps* in modern French; also *Hamlet*, III. I. 91, 'How does your honour for this many a day?'

Similarly Latin uses the imperf. when Eng. would use a pluperf., *e.g.* c. 33. 3.

aequa et plana, 'even and level,' used partly in the literal sense (with ref. to *adversa montium*, § 1) and partly as a metaphor ('simple and plain'; cf. the Eng. 'plain sailing').

Romano...Samnitem. Cf. c. 1. 7 n.

§3 **montes moliri sede sua.** Note the alliteration, which savours of poetry, as does the use of the simple verb *moliri*=*amoliri*, without *ab*.

venies. See Notes on the Text.

bene, 'decently,' 'honourably.'

§4 **in vicem**=*inter se* or *mutuis*. *In vicem* properly means 'by turns,' 'alternately,' but sometimes in Livy and often in post-Augustan writers it is equal to *inter se*, 'reciprocally,' 'mutually,' 'one with another.' Cf. VI. 24. 7, *adhortatio in vicem*. It is easy to see from these two instances how the meaning came to change; from III. 6. 3, *ministeria...in vicem*, we can see it still more clearly; from 'services rendered in turns' to 'services rendered to one another' the transition is simple. There is no need to suppose, as Riemann is inclined to do (*Études*, p. 240), that the change arose from the use of *in vicem* and *inter se* side by side, as in c. 43. 17, *in vicem inter se gratantes*.

qua...qua=*cum...tum* or *et...et*. Cf. c. 8. 3, 41. 16. This usage is, apart from the first decade of Livy, very rare in the literary language. It appears to belong to the popular speech, and is found in Plautus and in the letters (not, it would seem, in the other works) of Cicero. It

can be explained as an ellipsis; thus the present passage would be in full, *immemor, qua cibi fuit immemor, qua quietis fuit immemor*: 'unmindful where (in so far as) it was unmindful of food, and where,' etc.

immemor nox. Such a transference to a thing of an epithet which properly belongs to persons is characteristic of poetry. Cf. c. 10. 4 *obnoxia pace*, c. 29. 11 n., and see Eng. Index under 'Personification.'

traducta est, 'was passed,' a fairly frequent meaning in Livy; cf. c. 32. 3.

suppetebat, 'was at their command.' 'Even the Samnites could not decide upon a plan of action.'

censent, *censere*, 'to give as one's opinion,' may be used of a deliberative council = 'to vote,' or of an individual = 'to advise' or 'to propose.'

§ 5 **gravis annis**, 'feeling the burden of years,' a familiar poetical metaphor, found also in Greek, as in the well-known σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς of Sophocles, *O. T.* 17. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 1. 4, Verg. *Aen.* IX. 246.

consilii, 'judgment.'

§ 6 **is ubi...§ 7 quae ubi...§ 8 quae ubi.** The repetition is doubtless due to inadvertence, though the Romans were not so sensitive to such repetitions as we are.

accepit, 'learned.'

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§ 7 **spreta est...consulebatur.** Note (1) the different tenses—'had been (or "was") scouted'...'was being consulted'; (2) the sudden change of subject; it would be more regular Latin if we had *Herennius* or *ille* after *iterumque*; see Eng. Index under 'Subject.'

§ 8 **inter se**, with *discordia*: 'at variance with one another.'

ancipiti oraculo. Ambiguity was the most striking feature of the responses of the old oracles, but the ancients did not generally consider this unworthy of the oracular deities, even when the misinterpretation of a response caused the destruction of an individual or a nation, as is said to have happened in the case of Croesus, and of Pyrrhus (*Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse*).

victus est, ut, 'was prevailed upon to'; with the construction of *adductus est*. Livy nowhere has the corresponding active, *e.g. vicere eum ut*, but he sometimes uses *vinco* without an object in a similar sense (*e.g.* c. 26. 5, also III. 29. 8, *plebs vicit ut...*, 'carried their contention...'). Compare the use of *perpello*, c. 24. 4, and c. 31. 7 (contrast c. 30. 7).

§ 9 **consilium**, here, as often, = a council of war.

§ 10 **priore consilio.** See § 6. English would say, 'his first advice.' Latin more accurately uses the comparative. For other instances see Lat. Index.

firmare, 'to establish on a strong basis.'

quibus, 'in the course of which,' abl. of 'time within which.'

haud facile, etc. See n. on *quicquid...est*, c. 4. 11.

§ 11 **alii.** Probably, though not certainly, = *reliqui* or *ceteri*, a use common in Livy. Cf. c. 4. 3, and see Lat. Index *s.v. alius*.

percontando exsequerentur, 'plied him further with the question,' 'pressed him to tell them.' *exs.* properly = 'followed up,' 'prosecuted' (the enquiry), or perhaps 'pursued (importuned) him with questioning.' The word is used especially of pressing an enquiry by further questioning. A good instance is XXXV. 14. 10, where after two questions introduced by *quaerenti* and *quaerenti deinde* respectively a third is introduced by *exsequenti*.

quid, si... Such an ellipsis is common in both English and Latin in direct questions; cf. c. 9. 6, c. 18. 5. Livy's use of it in an indirect question makes the clause very graphic, recalling the very words spoken.

si...caperetur, 'if they steered a middle course,' lit. 'if a middle path of policy were taken.' For *media via* cf. c. 12. 2. *Consilium capere* is a common expression, here elaborated in more figurative fashion.

Tr.: 'what he thought of steering a middle course'; or turn into direct, 'What if a middle course were taken?'

ut..., explanatory of *media via consilii*.

iis iure belli victis. Editors take *iure belli* with *imponerentur*, and this is possibly right, though it presupposes an unnatural order of the words; Livy is not so strict in arranging his words as Cicero is; see passages cited in Eng. Index under 'Order of Words,' and nn. on c. 15. 2, 10, 11. Yet it is possible to render the words, 'on them, when they were conquered (or "as being conquered") according to the laws of war.' Though sent away in safety, the Romans would by all the laws of warfare be a beaten foe, and terms might be imposed on them accordingly.

[It should be noted that *iis victis*, unlike Eng. 'those conquered,' cannot mean 'those who were conquered,' which would be in Latin either *victis* alone or *iis qui victi essent*.]

§ 12 **ea est, quae...parat**, but at the end of this section *ea est...quae...*

nesciat (Consecutive Subjunctive, 'such a nation that it knows not'). It is rash, however, to say that the indic. in the first passage is a mere substitute for the subjunctive found in the second; *ea est quae parat* surely = 'is the policy (the very policy) which procures.' The indicative is more pointed here than the subjunctive, but in the other passage it would be out of place, as it would imply that no other nation (not even the Samnites) was like the Romans in the respect referred to.

servate...ea est...vivet. In impassioned speech it is natural to have short co-ordinate sentences (Parataxis) instead of clauses subordinated to one another (Hypotaxis). These sentences are more expressive than *si servaveritis...cum* (since) *ea sit...vivet.*

The imperative is often used, in Eng. as well as Latin, to express a condition pointedly. Perhaps the most famous instances in Latin are in Juvenal:

Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa...

'Satirize Tigellinus, and you shall glow in that coat of pitch' (*Sat.* I. 155); and

Expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce summo
Invenies? (X. 147).

victa quiescere, 'rest under a defeat.'

§ 13 **quicquid istuc...inusserit.** This passage has been strangely misunderstood by editors[1], according to whom *istuc = istud*, and is transposed from the principal to the relative clause, a usage which appears to be very rare with such words (W.-M. quote three instances from Quintilian, two of which are hardly parallel; the use of adjectives of quality in a *qui*-clause, cited by Stephenson, is beside the point). The error seems to have arisen from the idea that *istic* (or *iste*) always has some reference to the second person ('that of yours,' etc.). But there can be very little doubt that *istuc* is here the adverb, = 'thither,' *i.e.* into their breasts. It is a little more expressive than a dative. Such a use of adverbs of 'place whither' is quite frequent, and is sometimes found even with reference to persons, *e.g.* XXVII. 34. 12, *eodemque* (*i.e. in eundem*, 'upon the same man') *honores poenasque congeri.*

Moreover even *istud*, *quicquid...inusserit* would not be a very natural expression, though not impossible, and we should expect either a dative or its equivalent with *inusserit.*

Tr.: 'whatever brand the necessity of the moment shall stamp there.'

ante m. poenas expetitas. See c. I. 4, n. on *expiationem spretam.*

[1] Except Prof. Walters.

Chapter 4

§ 1 **conatus...capti essent.** The same phrase is found in III. 5. 6, and XXI. 29. 5.

omnium rerum inopia, 'scarcity of all necessaries.' So in Caes. *B. G.* V. 2. Cf. c. 13. 8. As W.-M. say, other authorities (Dionysius, Appian, Dio, Zonaras) agree in stating that the Romans suffered from scarcity of provisions. If that is so, we can hardly suppose that the events recorded in this chapter took place on the day after the entrance of the Caudine Forks, as Livy seems to imply (c. 3. 4 init.). Roman soldiers generally carried with them provisions for several days. Appian gives a more probable account: *διέτριψαν ἔτι ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὀκνοῦντες ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι.* See Appendix I., pp. 245 f.

essent...esset, a somewhat ill-sounding jingle, which Livy would perhaps have avoided had he noticed it. It was probably to avoid an ugly assonance that he placed *victi* between *esset* and *necessitate.*

§ 2 **primum,** 'in the first instance.'

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si...non, not *nisi* (the usual Latin for 'if...not'), as the negative belongs rather to *impetrarent* than to the whole clause: 'if they failed to obtain.' One may say in general that *nisi* should not be used where 'unless' would be impossible in English. Cf. § 8, *si non sine magno periculo,* and c. 38. 7.

uti provocarent, c. 2. 3 n. (*ut...constet*). W.-M. remark on the *naïveté* of this command.

§ 3 **fortunam,** 'condition,' 'plight.'

missurum, without *se.* Cf. c. 1. 11 fin., n. The 'yoke' under which a defeated army was made to pass as a sign of submission consisted of two upright spears with another laid horizontally upon them; III. 28. 11, *tribus hastis iugum fit humi fixis duabus superque eas transversa una deligata.*

alias = *reliquas* or *ceteras.* Cf. c. 3. 11 n.

§ 4 **abducerentur,** 'were withdrawn'; but *coloniam deducere* = 'to found a colony.'

Fregellae and Cales were important 'Latin' colonies on the Samnite frontier; their foundation by Rome had been a contravention of the treaty; see Introduction, pp. xiv, xv.

victurum, from *vivo,* of course, not from *vinco.*

§ 5 **foedus...ferire.** This phrase is said to be derived from the ceremony described in c. 5. 3.

eorum, neut. = *earum rerum*, *i.e. condicionum*. See n. on *de eo*, c. 8. 4.

displiceat. Tense of Oratio Recta retained in Or. Obliqua, as often. See n. on c. 6. 13.

§ 6 **legatio**, more strictly the result or the doings of the *legatio*; a characteristic Latin brachylogy. Cf. VII. 32. 1 *hac legatione relata*; XXIII. 6. 3 *renuntiant legationem*; *ib.* 30. 7 *haec postquam renuntiata legatio est*, etc. So in Cic. *Phil.* IX. 1. 1.

renuntiaretur, 'was reported,' not 'was being reported.' With words denoting the giving or receiving of news, esp. *audio*, the Imperf. Subjunctive is often used where one would expect the Pluperf. The news is thus represented as a factor still working on the hearers. Cf. c. 6. 11, *cum...referrent*; c. 7. 1, *cum haec dicerentur audirenturque*; c. 24. 11, *cum...audirent*.

accepturi, sc. *esse*; corresponding to *accipiant* in a principal clause (*accipiant*, *si nuntietur*, 'they would receive...if it were to be announced'); or possibly to *acciperent* (*acciperent*, *si nuntiaretur*, 'they would be receiving..., if it were being announced'), though it is doubtful if such an apodosis can be thus represented. [See Riemann, *Syn.*[4], p. 437, esp. the footnote, where he cites examples to show that the part. in *-urus* + *fuisse* (not *esse*) is used in O. O. to represent an apodosis in the Imperf. Subjunctive; also *Amer. Journ. Philol.* XXV. pp. 59—73.]

We may translate: 'that it did not seem that they could possibly be more affected if they heard that they must meet their death on the spot.'

§ 7 **hiscere**, 'to open their mouths'; also in c. 6. 12, and other passages, always in Livy with a negative. (Lut.)

tum...legatorum. It is not certain whether Lentulus was one of the ambassadors or of the military *legati* (staff officers, c. 5. 4). If *legatorum* = 'of the ambassadors,' *tum*, which has the authority of M, P, and U, cannot stand, and must be an accidental repetition of the *tum* before *L. Lentulus*.

honoribus, offices of state, 'official record'; cf. c. 26. 9, 11, 19. He had been both consul and dictator.

§ 8 See V. 48, which does not, however, mention the dissent of the elder Lentulus.

non fuisse auctorem, etc., 'did not advise the senate to ransom...'

nec...et. A frequent combination in Latin. Similarly in Greek οὔτε...τε. Cf. c. 9. 11, etc. See Latin Index *s.v.* '*nec.*'

opera ac muniendum = *o. ac munitionem*, 'entrenchments and fortification.' [Cf. Cic. *Phil.* XIII. 9. 20, *operibus munitionibusque.*] Such coupling of an ordinary noun with a gerund gives a foretaste of that seeking after constant variety of expression which became almost a craze with Tacitus. See Eng. Index under 'Variation.'

si non, § 2 n.

§ 9 **armatis.** The dative is regular in such instances. Cf. c. 10. 5, XXI. 44. 8, *illis timidis et ignavis esse licet...vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse.* Exceptions are rare; the most familiar instance is Cic. *Balb.* XII. 29, *civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum.*

saepe, in an unusual position, to gain emphasis.

paterni animi indoles. Tr.: 'the heritage of my father's spirit.' *Indoles* (*indu* = *in* + root of *olesco*, *adolesco*, etc.) = inborn character.

§ 10 **me devovere,** *i.e.* to the powers of the underworld (*dis Manibus Tellurique*), as was done, for example, by P. Decius Mus in 340 B.C. at the battle of Mt Vesuvius, and by his son in 295 at Sentinum, in order to obtain victory for their armies. Cf. c. 10. 3, 17. 13. As after this act of 'self-devotion' the hero rushed upon the enemy (*se in hostes immisit*, VIII. 9. 9) we should here have expected *et...et*, not *vel...vel* to connect *devovere* and *immittere*.

§ 11 **quicquid...est.** An exaggeration. Though in this period the Romans seem to have been generally content with a levy of four legions, and a like number of Latin allies (VIII. 8. 14), they could, if occasion required, muster ten legions drawn almost entirely from the city itself (c. 19. 2, VII. 25. 8 and 12).

se ipsis. See c. 2. 14 n. By putting both words in the abl. a better antithesis to *pro patria, pro populo Romano legionibusque* is obtained.

§ 12 **dicat aliquis,** 'someone may say.' The history of the subjunctive is still beset with difficulties, and it is not quite clear how this use should be classified. Some would call it a 'Potential Subjunctive' (a dangerous term—see the latter part of this note); others regard it as the apodosis of a conditional sentence with the protasis suppressed (*e.g.* 'someone would say, if he got an opportunity'). However that may be, the subjunctive is often used to convey a mild assertion. Similar subjunctives are *velim*, 'I should wish,' *nolim*, 'I should be unwilling,' *crediderim*, 'I could believe'; so *haud sciam*, c. 15. 10. [Learners, however, should note that it is only in a few cases that such words as 'may,' 'might,' 'could' are safe translations of a Latin subjunctive.] *Dicet aliquis* and *dixerit aliquis* are far more frequent

than *dicat a*. In this use *dixerit* is regarded by some as Perf. Subj., by others as Fut. Perf. Indic. See Roby, vol. II. pp. ci ff.

produntur, more forcible than a fut. would be; it represents the betrayal as now taking place. Cf. § 14.

deleto hoc exercitu, 'by the destruction of this army.' Lentulus is indulging in hyperbole; the Romans were strong enough to put another force in the field, though it would take them some time to mobilise it.

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§ 13 **tam...quam...defendit**, 'Just as much as it defended...'

§ 14 **a Veiis.** A phrase denoting motion is not unnatural with *implorabunt*, which implies 'will implore to come.' Livy often uses *a* or *ab* with names of towns, a usage which evidently belongs to familiar speech (it occurs in Cicero's letters), and is avoided by the other leading prose writers except in cases corresponding to those in which *ad* may be used (see n. on c. 2. 2, *ad Calatiam*), *i.e.*, = 'from the neighbourhood of' or 'in a direction leading away from.' In the first Decade there is not more than one example (VIII. 5. 5, where, however, the reading is doubtful) of the simple ablative without *ab*. On the other hand, *ab* with the name of a town appears to be entirely absent from Caesar's *Gallic War*, though it occurs a few times in the *Civil War*. Sallust has two examples, Nepos none, while Livy has hundreds. [See J. E. Ellendt, *De praepositionis* a *cum nominibus iunctae, apud Livium maxime, usu*, Königsberg, 1843.]

A considerable remnant of the Roman army defeated by the Gauls at the battle of the Allia was said to have fled to Veii, and, mustering under Camillus, to have come to Rome just as the ransom (§ 8) was being paid; thereupon they drove the Gauls away, inflicting a severe defeat upon them.

at, here, as often, introducing a supposed objection: 'But, it will be said.' *At enim* is often used in this way.

§ 15 **servemus** does double duty as (1) dependent on *ut*, (2) the apodosis of a conditional sentence: *si opus sit* refers to *morte*: 'that we would preserve it by our shame just as we would by our death if necessary.'

§ 16 **necessitati**, *i.e. fato*.

ito. See n. on *vadunt*, c. 13. 2.

CHAPTER 5

§ 1 **cum...agitaret.** The *cum*-clause, as usual, goes with what follows.

victor. This word is not inserted merely to avoid the repetition of the word *Pontius*; such a device is characteristic of English rather than of Latin, which would either repeat the proper name or represent it by a pronoun (see c. 6. 4 and 5, *Capuam...Capua...Capuam*). Livy wishes to emphasize the fact that it was the conqueror who made overtures for a treaty (*de foedere agitaret*).

negarunt...nec. *nec* is written as if *dixerunt non* (or *nec*) *posse* had preceded. *Nego* is commonly substituted for *dico non*.

fetialibus. The *fetiales*, or 'sacred heralds,' were priests (apparently attached to Iuppiter Feretrius; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 230), whose duty it was to carry out the solemn ceremonies necessary in making war or concluding peace. In the event of a quarrel with a foreign state, four *fetiales* were sent to demand satisfaction (*res repetere*, c. 1. 4 n.). If the satisfaction were not given, the *fetiales*, through their spokesman, called *pater patratus*, solemnly called the gods to witness the injustice, and, returning to Rome, made a report to the senate. If the senate, and after it the people, resolved to make war, the *pater patratus* returned to the enemy's frontier, and, casting a spear into their territory, uttered a solemn declaration of hostilities. (See I. 32. 6 ff.)

caerimonia, in collective sense, 'ceremonial.'

alia = *reliqua.*

§ 2 **credunt**, 'people believe.' The subject is left vague, as in the English 'they say,' Latin *dicunt*, *ferunt*, etc.

Claudius, *i.e.* Claudius Quadrigarius, the annalist. See Introduction, p. xviii.

sponsionem, 'guarantee'; *sponsoribus*, 'guarantors.' The *sponsio* was a verbal engagement or pledge made by those in authority (the generals and, if required, their officers) in answer to a formal question from the other party. Cf. c. 41. 19, and see Appendix I., pp. 249 ff.

§ 3 **ubi precatione**, etc., 'in which the transaction is effected by means of a prayer that even as the pig is being struck by the sacred heralds, so Jupiter will strike that people through which it comes to pass that the appointed terms are not kept.' The ancient formula is given in similar language but more fully in I. 24. 8 : *Si prior defexit [populus Romanus] publico consilio dolo malo, tum illo die, Diespiter, populum*

Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam. These words were uttered by the *pater patratus.*

per quem populum: such a transference of the antecedent to the relative clause is frequent.

quo minus: frequent with verbs of preventing, to which category *fiat* practically belongs in this passage. Cf. c. 14. 1 *per utros stetisset quo minus...*

legibus dictis stetur (cf. § 5 fin., *pacto staretur*). *Stare* is often thus used with the abl. (especially in the impersonal construction of the passive, as here). The abl. is perhaps one of instrument; to take a firm stand upon = to take a firm stand by means of. The abl. with *nitor*, 'lean upon,' is similar. These are sometimes explained as locatival ablatives (c. 11. 5 n.).

ut...feriat, dependent on *precatione.*

quem ad modum, probably used instead of the more usual *ut* with *ita* because *ut* introduces the previous clause, though such a repetition of *ut* would be far from unparalleled.

§ 4 **quaestores.** A *quaestor* accompanied each general, and acted as adjutant, with the management of the finances of the campaign. He regularly acted as deputy in the general's absence, and in the event of the general's death took his place. In giving the *legati* precedence over the *quaestores* Livy is apparently following the custom of his own time, not of the time with which the narrative deals.

tribuni militum. In later times there were six tribunes in each legion. Appian says that only twelve *tribuni* were left; the rest had been killed. If there were six *tribuni* to the legion, one half of the tribunes must then have been killed. This is so improbable that Lut. thinks there were probably only four tribunes to the legion at this time. Whether Appian can be trusted so implicitly is doubtful. See also n. on c. 30. 3.

ubi...exstarent. These words seem to imply some official record, but it seems strange that a *sponsio* which the people had not ratified should be mentioned in any public archives. Perhaps the names were fraudulently inserted in the *annales maximi.* (Introduction pp. xvi, ff.)

ex foedere = 'in accordance with (the forms of) a treaty,' 'as in making a treaty.'

§ 5 **necessariam foederis dilationem**, 'the delay necessarily involved in concluding a treaty.' The *fetiales* would have to be summoned and the senate and people consulted.

staretur, § 3 n.

§ 6 **tradendis obsidibus exercituque mittendo**, datives of purpose or 'work contemplated,' used mostly in gerund or gerundive constructions, especially in technical or legal expressions, *e.g. Decem viri legibus scribendis*, 'the Ten Commissioners for writing down the Laws.' See Eng. Index under 'Dative.'

exercitu. This form of the dative is not uncommon in the fourth declension.

mittendo: sc. *sub iugum.*

ut, 'so that.'

abstinerent. Supply as subject *milites* from *castris.*

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deducti essent, virtually oblique, 'they had been brought, as they alleged'; hence subj. There is also a causal notion.

abituri. Supply *essent* from the preceding clause.

illis, *i.e. consulibus*, not *militibus*, the speakers, which would be denoted by *sibi.* At this point Livy plunges into a passage of *Oratio Obliqua*, leaving a verb of saying to be understood from what precedes, —a very common practice.

§ 7 **ducem locorum**, 'guide.'

modo, 'after the manner of.' See c. 2. 2, n. on *pastorum habitu.*

intueri, 'Historic Infin.' often used in descriptions of emotions, or of rapid or exciting action. It seems generally to be the equivalent of an imperfect, sometimes rather of an 'aoristic' perfect.

Intueri is linked with *contemplari* also in Cic. *Planc.* 1. 2.

§ 8 **obnoxia**, 'at the mercy of'; n. on c. 10. 4.

sibimet ipsi: c. 2. 14 n.

proponere sibi ante oculos is more idiomatic Latin than *p. suos a. o.*

victoris, used collectively.

per armatos inermium, a rhetorical contrast, such as was beloved of the Romans; very effective here. The pathos and power of the whole of this paragraph cannot but be felt.

§ 9 **foedi**, a strong word. The army is looked on as loathsome, polluted.

viam = *iter*, which has just been used.

parentes. Apparently used for *patres*, to avoid jingle with *patriam.* The thought is of their fathers, as the next clause shows.

quo goes with *patriam.*

ipsi, sc. *parentes*, *i.e. patres.* **eorum**, *i.e. parentium*, otherwise *sui* would be used.

triumphantes: as *patria* to a Roman meant *Roma*, the ordinary meaning, 'celebrating a triumph,' 'in triumphal procession' will stand. The word may also mean 'in triumph,' 'rejoicing,' but probably not 'victorious'; *triumphare* is said not to be used = *vincere*, like the Eng. 'triumph,' though there are some passages in Livy (not to mention later authors) which cast doubt on such a statement.

The triumphal procession was formed outside the city (hence *quo*).

§ 10 **se...sibi...sibi.** Note the rhetorical repetition in the most emphatic part of the sentence.

manum...conferre. *Manum* or *manus conserere* is more frequent in this sense.

§ 11 **frementibus**, sc. *iis*. Cf. c. 6. 3, *intuentibus*; 7, *venientibus*; 10, *proficiscentibus*. Probably dative, not Abl. Abs., as Lut. and W.-M. think. The dative very often expresses the person affected by an action, whether adversely (*Dativus incommodi*, as here) or the reverse (*Dativus commodi*). Postgate, *N. L. P.*, § 138, p. 79.

fatalis, 'fated,' not 'fatal,' which is *mortifer* or *funestus*.

omnia, etc., lit. 'destined to make all things more bitter by experiencing them than what they had anticipated in their hearts.' Tr.: 'destined to bring a reality whose bitterness exceeded their anticipations in every respect.'

§ 12 **primum...iussi.** To this corresponds *tum...iussi* in the next sentence.

primi, adj. in agreement = adverb, as frequently. The first action on going outside the rampart was to hand over the hostages. The meaning is 'they were handed over at the outset,' not 'they were the first to be handed over,' as such words would commonly mean (cf. c. 6 init.).

§ 13 **ipsos** = *eos ipsos*, those referred to in § 6.

§ 14 **deformatione**, 'degradation.'

Chapter 6

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§ 1 **ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita...** Proportion is sometimes expressed in Latin by *ut quisque...ita*, *e.g.* Cic. *Lael.* 9. 30, *ut quisque sibi plurimum confidit,...ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit*, 'the more confidence a man has in himself, the more he excels in seeking and cultivating friendships,' lit. 'according as each one trusts himself most fully, so does he most

excel.' In the present instance *proxime* must be understood after *ita.* Tr.: 'then the officers according to their precedence in rank were thrust into dishonour.' *Vt quisque* is often used by Livy and Tacitus in a temporal sense = 'when each one' or 'whenever anyone'; *e.g.* c. 31. 9. (In XXI. 42. 3, cited by Roby II. § 1717, the reading is doubtful.)

§ 2 **armati.** This epithet is by no means otiose; it gives the same pathetic touch as we find in c. 5. 8—10 (cf. esp. *per armatos inermium iter*). Livy feels keenly, as the Roman soldiers did, the *indignitas rerum* which compelled those brave legions, while themselves unarmed and helpless, to see the arms of the enemy flaunted in their faces.

plerisque = 'several,' 'a large number,' which in Cicero would be *plurimis* or *compluribus*. In Cicero *plerique* = 'most,' *plerumque* = 'generally, 'as a rule,' but in the next age the meaning is weakened. Similarly *mox* in Silver Latin often means 'afterwards,' 'later,' not 'soon.'

si vultus...offendisset. *si* here practically = *si quando*, 'if ever,' 'whenever.' In temporal clauses of the Ciceronian age repeated action is regularly expressed by the indicative (generally pluperf. if the action is in past time, perfect if it is still going on at intervals), but Livy very frequently uses the subjunctive, which becomes the common, though by no means invariable, construction in the Latin of the imperial age. Cf. c. 19. 8 n.

indignitate rerum. Cf. c. 9. 6, III. 38. 11. *Indignus* is often much stronger than 'unworthy,' and may be translated by some such word as 'outrageous,' 'intolerable.'

indignitate goes with *acrior*: 'too much aggravated by,' 'too indignant at the ruthlessness of their fate.'

victor, 'a victor,' not 'the victor': 'when the expression of a face offended one of the conquerors by showing too much indignation...'

§ 3 A good example of a compact Latin period; it is built up so as to throw tremendous force upon the principal clause (*tamen...fuit*), which comes at the end.

et, 'even,' 'and that too'; cf. c. 32. 8.

per. The Latin for 'to be before a person's eyes' is *in oculis alicuius* (or *alicui*) *esse* (cf. c. 12. 2). On the same principle the soldiers moving under the gaze of the enemy are said to move *per hostium oculos*. The word *per* is doubly appropriate here, in reference to men going between two lines of the enemy. Cf. II. 38. 3 *vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum*, where *traductos* means 'paraded,'

like captives in a triumph, a meaning which may be glanced at in the present passage. *Per ora* occurs also in Sall. *Iug.* 31. 10 *incedunt per ora vestra magnifice*, and Hor. *Sat.* II. 1. 64:

nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet introrsum turpis.

omni morte. Tr.: 'than any death.'

§ 4 **cum,** 'although.' For other instances in this book see Latin Index.

pervenire possent...pudor praepediebat. Note alliteration.

incerti...et quod. For the variation of phrase see note on c. 4. 8.

praepediebat. *Praepedio* is used six times by Livy (cf. c. 14. 14, 44. 12). Lut. and W.-M. are not quite right in saying he is the first prose author to use it; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 28. 5, *Bell. Hisp.* 31. 6. L.-S. give a false ref. to Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 7. 21. The word seems to belong mostly to popular speech. In Tac. *Ann.* XI. 35 we find *pudor impediebat.*

omnium. See n. on *de eo*, c. 8. 4.

§ 5 **Capuam.** The idea of 'motion to' is involved in *nuntiare*, which often takes the construction of verbs of motion.

iusta, 'natural,' 'rightful.'

sociorum, probably Objective Gen., as in c. 8. 11.

§ 6 **insignia,** esp. *paludamenta.*

sua, *i.e.* pertaining to the consuls. According to the general rule for the use of *suus* (and *se*), *sua* should refer to the subject of the sentence and mean 'of the citizens of Capua.' But in the sense 'his ('their,' etc.) own,' *suus* is often used in contravention of the rule, especially when referring to the 'logical,' though not the grammatical, subject of the sentence; thus here the thought is, 'The consuls receive the insignia of their office,' so that the logical subject is *consules.*

Another exception is in phrases where *suus* (or *se*) is so commonly used that to change it for special reasons would be pedantic, *e.g.* c. 7. 7, *sua sponte* (*eorum* would be absurd); so c. 31. 9, 41. 17, etc.

lictoribus. Madvig's emendation. The reading of the MSS., *lictores*, is open to three objections: (1) It implies that the *milites* had *fasces*! (2) It implies that Roman consuls would accept lictors from Capua, which is doubtful. (3) Livy does not say that the Roman lictors were detained by the Samnites; they were merely removed from attendance on the consuls (*a consulibus abire iussi*, c. 5. 13).

§ 7 **venientibus,** sc. *iis.* Cf. c. 5. 11 init., n.

senatus populusque egressus. A sing. pred. is common with

senatus populusque, which forms one idea. Cf. Cic. *Fam.* V. 8. 2 *senatus populusque Romanus intellegit*... See also n. on c. 11. 4.

iustis omnibus hospitalibus. W.-M. and Lut. say that *iustis* is a substantive. *Iusta* is often employed = 'due observances' of any kind, though most frequently used of funeral rites. It seems, however, quite as likely that *iustis* is here an adj. *Hospitalia* is used substantivally in XLII. 24 fin., *aliaque hospitalia comiter conservata*, 'and the other dues (claims) of hospitality were courteously observed.' The meaning is the same in either case.

publicis, 'official,' 'in the name of the state.'

§ 8 **neque illis...non modo** = *sed illis...non modo non*. *Neque* is put at the beginning of the sentence to connect it with the previous one; it has here a sort of adversative force; cf. c. 46. 2.

contra, 'in the face.'

§ 9 **super**, 'over and above' = *praeter*; not, it would seem, a Ciceronian usage.

colloquia...coetus...cogebat. Note alliteration.

§ 10 ff. The skeleton of this long sentence is as follows: *cum revertissent et referrent* [here follows a passage of Oratio Obliqua]...*cum haec dicerentur audirenturque* [resuming the initial *cum*-clause]...*dicitur O. C....dixisse.* 'When they returned and reported, that, etc....—when this was said and heard...O.C. is stated to have declared.' The sentence must be broken up into several sentences in translating; *e.g.* 'Next day a number of young noblemen...returned and were summoned to the Senate House. To the questions of their elders they replied that the Romans had seemed....The well-known Roman spirit, they said, was prostrate....The Samnites, declared the young men, had won a victory not only glorious but everlasting....When these statements were uttered and heard...Ofillius Calavius, it is said....'

a Capua, c. 4. 14 n.

proficiscentes...prosequerentur. The same combination is found in Cic. *Q. Fr.* I. 3. 1, and perhaps belonged to popular speech.

revertissent...referrent. Note the difference of tense. See n. on c. 4. 6.

§ 12 **iacere**, a common metaphor.

indolem, 'inborn spirit,' c. 4. 9 n.

illam, 'the well-known.' See Lat. Index.

non reddere, sc. *eos*.

salutantibus, non. Madvig's transposition of *non* from before *salutantibus* seems right, for the MSS. reading gives in *non salutantibus*

dare responsum a rather tame repetition of *non reddere salutem.* Madvig, however, goes too far when he says that *responsum* should be used only in relation to a question. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 72 (cited by W.-M.): *neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant.*

non hiscere, n. on c. 4. 7.

prae, c. 13. 1 n.

ferentibus...cervicibus, Abl. Abs.

missi essent = *missi erant* (not *sunt*) of O. R. See note on *fuerit*, § 13.

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§ 13 **bellicosius.** The text need not be altered (*gloriosius* is suggested by Madvig, *periculosius* by Wesenberg). The antithesis between *Romam* and *Romanam virtutem ferociamque* is quite intelligible. *Roma* means the city, not the people. The Gauls captured the 'bricks and mortar' of Rome, but not, as the Samnites have done, the Roman *virtus ferociaque.*

fuerit. Note that this corresponds to *fuit* in Oratio Recta. Livy likes to retain the original tenses in Oratio Obliqua even after a past governing verb, and regularly does so where possible, *i.e.* except where the Oratio Recta has an imperative or a future (n. on c. 7. 5), in which case his usage varies, and also in clauses *immediately* dependent on the verb introducing the Oratio Obliqua, which take the regular sequence. In the present passage Cicero would have written *fuisset*, but the rigidity of the Ciceronian usage had not become a fixed practice in Livy's day, and he evidently felt that the retention of the original tenses made the words more graphic. See App. II. to Conway's ed. of Bk II., where the principles of Livy's use of tenses in Or. Obl. have been very instructively demonstrated.

ferociam, here, as often, in a good sense, 'high spirit.'

Chapter 7

§ 1 **cum**, etc. This repeats in slightly different form the clause (*cum*) ...*referrent*, c. 6. 11, and so 'gathers up' the long sentence which began in § 10 of the last chapter.

dicerentur audirenturque. For the tense cf. c. 6. 11 *referrent*, and n. on c. 4. 6.

deploratum...esset, 'had been given up for lost.' This use of *deplorare* is un-Ciceronian, but is frequent in Livy. Lut. compares III. 38. 2, V. 40. 6, XXVI. 12. 4, XXIX. 31. 12, XLI. 6. 7, XLIII. 7. 7. The metaphor is derived from bewailing the dead.

paene goes with *deploratum*, which is placed at the beginning of the clause for emphasis.

nomen, c. 19. 2 n.

concilio. Weissenborn conj. *consilio*, which is certainly a more usual word with reference to a senate; but though *concilium* is more appropriately used of a meeting of the people (*e.g.* the Roman *concilium plebis*) or of their representatives (as the *concilium Samnitium*, VII. 31. 11), it is a word of very general application, and it is unnecessary to alter it in this passage.

§ 2 **dicitur...dixisse**, a clumsy expression, but not due to inadvertence, as the same words occur in IV. 48. 6 with no words separating them.

§ 3 **pudorem intuendae lucis.** A sort of Objective Gen., on the same principle as (*e.g.*) *timorem int. luc.* For the gen. of gerundive with a noun depending on another noun cf. c. 18. 4 *vanitatem ementiendae stirpis.*

ingentem..., 'betokened the gathering of a great storm of wrath in the depths of their hearts,' lit. 'were signs of one stirring up a great mass of wrath from the deep of the heart'; *cientis* is collective, so is *animi*, as often, for the plural is commonly used in the sense of 'courage,' 'high spirit.'

This interpretation seems more effective than to take *cientis* as agreeing with *animi.*

Some MSS. read *animo.*

§ 4 **flebiles**, c. 26. 4 n.

aliquanto, abl. of 'measure of difference,' separated from *tristiorem* to gain emphasis.

§ 5 **suos quemque.** *quisque* when used with *se, suus*, a superlative or an ordinal numeral adj., nearly always comes immediately after them. Cf. c. 2. 13.

quemque eorum = each man amongst them.

congressuri sint, representing *congressuri sunt* of Oratio Recta. *Congredientur* would probably have been represented by either *congrediantur* or *congrederentur*. See n. on c. 6. 13, *fuerit.*

§ 6 **Iam...erat**, lit. 'Already at Rome also her own disaster was ill-famed,' *i.e.* 'By this time Rome was full of the shameful tidings of her calamity.' *sua* (see n. on c. 6. 6), *i.e. Romanorum*, to be understood from *Romae.*

obsessos, *i.e. milites* (or *exercitus*) *obsessos esse.*

tristior...magis quam... Lut. is not correct in saying that *magis* is a mere redundancy, such as is occasionally found in comedy with a

comparative. *Tristior* is contrasted with the preceding words. First came the news that the armies were shut up in the pass; then came tidings that were gloomier, rather as telling of the disgraceful peace than as telling of danger threatening themselves. Perhaps we might say, 'Then came gloomier news, not so much of the impending danger as of the shameful peace.' Cf. c. 32. 3 n.

§ 7 **ad famam,** 'at' or 'in view of the report'; n. on c. 2. 5, *ad praesentem terrorem*; cf. c. 39. 1.

haberi coeptus erat. *coeptus sum*, not *coepi*, is regular when the dependent infinitive is passive; so the opposite, *desitus sum*. See Latin Index for other instances. Livy, however, sometimes uses the active form with a passive infinitive.

auxiliorum, not a contingent of allies (the usual meaning of the words) but a force of Roman soldiers to relieve the besieged armies.

acceperunt, c. 3. 6 *init.*

consensum...est. *consentire in* + acc., lit. = to be harmonious in the direction of something. 'They gave themselves up with one accord to every form of lamentation.'

§ 8 **tabernae circa forum clausae iustitiumque** etc. *iustitium* (*ius, si-sto*), lit. = a suspension of the business of the law-courts; but the name was applied to a general cessation of public business in the city. On such an occasion the law-courts were closed, the meetings of the Senate suspended, and indeed all state transactions except such as were absolutely necessary seem to have been in abeyance. To avoid all signs of the ordinary activity of the city the shops or booths which lined the *forum*, or even all in the city (III. 27. 2, *claudi tabernas tota urbe*), were closed. A *iustitium* was ordered on the occasion of a public crisis. The *raison d'être* might be a dangerous war, in which case the proclamation of a *iustitium* would facilitate the levy; cf. VI. 7. 1 *iustitio indicto dilectuque habito.* Very often, as in the present instance, the occasion was a public mourning, either for a disaster to the Roman cause or for the death of a prominent citizen. Under the Empire a *iustitium* regularly took place on the death of a member of the imperial family. The proclamation of a *iustitium* was generally made by the highest magistrate with *imperium* who happened to be present in the city: as a rule he did so on the 'authority' of the senate. Cf. III. 3. 6 (*consul*) *vocato senatu cum ex auctoritate patrum* [contrast *sine ulla publica auctoritate* above, §7] *iustitio indicto profectus esset*, and many other passages in the first decade.

sua sponte, n. on c. 6. 6.

lati clavi, *i.e. tunicae lati clavi*, tunics ornamented with the *latus clavus*, a broad purple stripe (either woven into the cloth or sewn on it) running vertically from each shoulder down the front and the back. The *latus clavus* was the distinguishing mark of senators, as the *angustus clavus* was of the *equites*. On occasions of public mourning the senators discarded their distinctive dress and wore the *angustus clavus*.

anuli aurei. The right of wearing a gold ring was a privilege of the *nobiles*; both senators and *equites equo publico* had it. In later times the senators for the most part ceased to wear the *anulus*, and after the institution of the new *ordo equester* (B.C. 123) by Gaius Gracchus, it became a distinctive badge of the *equites*.

positi, 'discarded.' So *deponerent*, c. 46. 12. Cp. also the famous epigram on the admission of Gauls to the Senate by Julius Caesar:

Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.

(Suet. *Iul.* LXXX.)

§ 9 **urbe.** Tr.: 'into the city'; but *urbe* is really an abl. of instrument. Cf. XXII. 52. 7, *moenibus tectisve acceptos*; XXVI. 25. 12. Latin sometimes goes still further in using such an abl. with *invitare*, *e.g.* Cic. *Verr.* II. 4. 11, § 25 *qui senatorem tecto ac domo non invitet.* Cf. c. 8. 9 n.

§ 10 **miserabilis.** Probably to be taken with *adventus*, not with *exercitus*. In. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 72, *convertit inde animos...legionum miserabilis aspectus* there may be a slight reminiscence of this passage.

ex insperato. lit. 'out of the unhoped-for,' 'out of a hopeless state of matters,' *i.e.* 'beyond all hopes,' 'contrary to expectation.' Cf. I. 25. 9, *ex insperato faventium.* Livy is fond of adverbial phrases formed with *ex*.

§ 11 **captorum habitu vultuque**, n. on c. 2. 2 *pastorum habitu.*

suis quisque, n. on c. 7. 5.

publicum. This vague neut. is often to be rendered by such an expression as 'public places' or 'publicity.' Cf. the phrase *carere publico*, 'to keep clear of the public eye,' *i.e.* to shut oneself up in one's home (Cic. *Mil.* 7. 18 *caruit senatu, caruit publico*). See also c. 24. 10.

nemo...vellet, 'no one would,' not 'no one was willing.' So *noluit hoc facere* may mean 'he refused to do this,' as well as 'he was unwilling to do this.'

§ 12 **in privato**: *privatum* is the opposite of *publicum*; *in privato se abdere* is practically the same as *carere publico.* (See last note but one.)

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pro magistratu, 'in virtue of' or 'in accordance with their office,' 'in their official capacity.' Tr.: 'transacted no official business,' or 'performed none of the duties of their office.'

expressum, 'forced from them,' 'extorted from them.' Cf. c. 9. 5. For the variant readings in this sentence, see Appendix.

dictatorem dicerent. *dicere*, 'to nominate,' is the regular Latin for 'to appoint' a dictator, as the dictator was nominated by the consul. If he had been elected in one of the assemblies like an ordinary magistrate, *facere* or *creare* would generally have been used. See n. on *vitio creatis* below.

comitiorum causa, *i.e.* to preside at the *comitia centuriata*, where the consuls were elected.

§ 14 **vitio creatis.** This is a 'stock' expression (cf. c. 34. 13), hence it is employed here, although *creare* is rarely used of the election of a dictator. (See n. on *dictatorem dicerent* above.) In c. 44. 2 *creare* is more boldly used. For *vitio* see n. on c. 2. 2, *pastorum habitu*. *Vitium* was used of any irregularity in a ceremony, which had the effect of making it null and void. Tr.: 'as there was an irregularity (or "a formal flaw") in their election.'

omnium...anni. *o. e. a. m.* would have been a more natural order, but Livy seems to intend to throw emphasis on *eius anni*. The people were disgusted with all the magistrates of *that year*. The *populus* did not elect the *interrex* (see next note).

res ad interregnum rediit, 'the government relapsed into an interregnum.' During the regal period, on the death of a king the Senate—then composed of patricians—chose an *interrex*, who held regal power and insignia for five days and chose a successor to himself. The second *interrex* might appoint a king or hand on his office at the end of five days to another *interrex*, who had the same alternative,—and so on till a king was appointed. Under the Republic the system of *interreges* was still adopted when for any reason (*e.g.* the death of both consuls) there were no supreme magistrates qualified to preside at the election of their successors. In the present case the *interregnum* was a last resort. The consuls would not fulfil the duties of their office, and the dictator for some reason would not hold the elections. The choice of the first *interrex* apparently remained in the hands of the patricians even after the

admission of plebeians to the Senate; on such an occasion only the patrician members might vote.

Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Valerius Corvus. Both very distinguished men. Fabius had already been consul (322 B.C.) and was re-elected four times (for 310, 308, 297, 295); he was also dictator in 315 and 301. Valerius had been consul four times (348, 346, 343, 335), and subsequently held the consulship in 300 and 299. He was dictator in 342 and 301. See n. on c. 17. 8.

§ 15 **is,** *i.e.* M. Valerius Corvus. The first *interrex* could not legally appoint a consul.

tertium. Publilius had already been consul twice (in 339 and 327 : cf. VIII. 22. 8), and as Livy mentions that Papirius Cursor was consul *iterum* we can hardly doubt that the word *tertium* has dropped out in the MSS. The symbol III might easily be omitted owing to its similarity to the last letter of PVBLILIVM. Publilius (mentioned also c. 17. 8) was a successful general. He was the first plebeian praetor, and was also dictator (Book VIII. *passim*).

quod...essent: the reason is stated as in the minds of the citizens (*civitas*); 'because, as they felt....' Cf. c. 2. 15, *quando...esset*, and n.

Chapter 8

§ 1 **Quo creati sunt die, eo...mag. inierunt.** This was unusual; between the election of the consuls and their assumption of office there was, as a rule, an interval, during which they were *consules designati.* The consuls generally took office on the Kalends or the Ides, but the month was variable till 154 B.C., when the Kalends of January were fixed as the first day of the consulship. After the passing of this measure the consular elections were usually held in July, or even earlier. For the construction see n. on c. 11. 3.

sollemnibus senatus consultis, 'the usual decrees of the Senate.' At the beginning of the consular year the Senate passed various resolutions. The rule was that *divina* should have precedence over *humana* (cf. XXII. 9. 7, *ab deis orsus*). After the settlement of religious business, especially the date of the *feriae Latinae*, which was a 'movable feast' (*feriae indictae*), decrees were passed determining the spheres of action (*provinciae*) of the consuls for the year.

de pace Caudina rettulerunt, 'introduced the question of the Caudine peace.' *Referre rem* (or *de re*) *ad senatum* is the regular phrase = to bring up a matter before the Senate. The plural is here

used because one of the consuls introduced the business in the name of both.

§ 2 **penes quem fasces erant.** The *fasces*, 'lictors' rods,' were a bundle consisting of rods of elm or birch with an axe in the middle, symbolical of the consuls' power of corporal and capital punishment. These bundles were carried by twelve lictors in single file before the consul, but after the right of appeal practically took from the consuls the right of inflicting capital punishment in Rome, the axes were left out of the *fasces* within the city. Livy says (II. I. 8) that, on the institution of the consulate after the expulsion of the kings, it was arranged that the consuls should 'have the *fasces*' in alternate months *ne duplicatus terror videretur.* This was certainly the custom in the early centuries of the republic. The real powers of the consulship were thus given to each of the consuls in turn, and so the deadlock which would often have occurred if two magistrates with equal rights held the supreme power was to a large extent avoided. The elder of the consuls had the *fasces* for the first month.

eodem illo. The full effect of *illo* can hardly be brought out in English. In using it Livy points his finger, as it were, at Postumius, and calls on his readers to picture the expression on the consul's face. Tr.: 'with that memorable look which his face had worn when he was sent under the yoke.'

§ 3 **honoris causa**, 'as a mark of respect'; a common phrase. To be called on first by the presiding consul to state one's opinion (*sententia*) was considered a great honour, especially when (as occasionally happened) the consul departed from the regular order of precedence. At this time the custom was to 'ask the opinion' of the *princeps senatus* first.

excitatum, 'made to rise,' 'brought to my feet.'

reum, with gen. of the 'matter charged,' as with verbs of accusing, condemning and acquitting.

qua...qua, n. on c. 3. 4.

§ 4 **de eo, de quo** = *de ea re, de qua.* As a rule—though there are very many exceptions—Latin avoids using in the neut. oblique cases of adjectives or pronouns which have the same form in both masc. and neut. Another exception to the rule is *omnium*, c. 6. 4, which is often so used by Livy, as is also *omnibus* (cf. V. 19. 6, with Whibley's note). For further examples see Eng. Index under 'Ambiguous Forms.'

fortunarum humanarum necessitatiumque, 'the chances and straits of our human lot.' *humanarum* belongs to both nouns; such

an arrangement of words was called by the old grammarians *coniunctio*, and is very common in Cicero.

sententiam...peragam, 'I shall get through with,' 'complete the statement of my opinion.' Livy uses this expression in III. 40. 5, VII. 35. 2, XXII. 60. 6.

paucis, 'in few words.' Possibly *verbis* is understood, but as *pauca dicere* = 'to utter few words,' it is not necessary to supply any noun.

testis erit. More expressive than *testimonio erit.* Tr.: 'will be a speaking witness,' or 'will bear witness.' This application of *testis* to things is one of Livy's poetical touches; cf. c. 26. 14, and the use of *index* instead of *indicium*, c. 23. 14. The best-known instance in poetry is Hor. *Carm.* IV. 4. 38:

Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus
Testis Metaurum flumen....

Here also there is a dependent question attached to *testis.*

me, emphatic; he holds that he did not bind the state by his *sponsio* (*non tenetur populus Romanus*).

seu...seu...qua tamen, 'the guarantee, which may have been disgraceful or unavoidable, but at all events does not bind the Roman people....'

§ 5 **qua...nec ex ea.** This insertion of a demonstrative pronoun in what ought strictly to be a second relative clause is common in Greek and is found several times in Latin. In English it is a colloquialism of the most ignorant type, but the ancients often regarded it as an aid to clearness.

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§ 6 **religione**, 'religious obligation.'

iustum piumque, apparently referring to *divini humanique.* If there were nothing *divinum* in the way, the war would be *pium*, if it were in accordance with *ius humanum* (n. on c. 1. 8), it would be *iustum.* *Pius* = 'dutiful,' 'faithful,' and is used of the attitude of men to gods, gods to men, parents to children, and children to parents. *Pius Aeneas* was a faithful follower of heaven's behests and dutifully affectionate to his father and his son.

de integro = *denuo*, 'anew.' *De novo*, so often used in modern times, does not seem to be good Latin.

§ 7 **placet.** Often used of the decision of a deliberative body, especially the Senate; here used of the proposal of an individual. Cf. *censeo*, c. 3. 6 n.

nec. Eng. would here say 'but not' rather than 'and not'; cf. *neque*, c. 6. 8, 46. 2.

iusta, *i.e.* the regular ceremonies required by *ius fetialium* (c. 9. 3 n.). For the meaning of *iusta* see n. on c. 6. 7.

§ 8 **si...at,** n. on c. 1. 8.

cordi, n. on c. 1. 4.

§ 9 **satis habeatis,** 'that you deem it enough....' The subjunctive without *ut* after verbs of praying or asking is very common. It is more primitive than the construction with a subordinate *ut*-clause. Thus to say that '*ut* is omitted' in the present instance is almost to put the cart before the horse. *Velitis* in the next section was probably not regarded by Livy as in any way subordinate to *precor quaesoque*; it = 'may it be your will.'

nostris capitibus, Abl. of Instrument, but to be translated 'on our heads.' Somewhat similar is the abl. with *accipere*, c. 7. 9, n.

§ 10 **ante nos consules,** 'before our consulship'; cf. c. 30. 2.

§ 11 **viri.** § 12 **vir.** § 13 **virum.** This recurrence of the word *vir* is notable, and it cannot be accidental. *Vir* often connotes manly or even heroic qualities, and Livy's use of it here, especially in the first and third instances, where a pronoun would have given good sense, shows how deeply he felt that Postumius, though he may have been guilty of errors as a general, was a type of the genuine manly Roman. *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.*

modo...modo, 'now...now,' 'at one moment...at another moment.'

§ 12 **illum,** more vivid than *eum*; 'that that was the same Sp. P.,' not 'that he was the same....'

auctor, 'author of,' 'cause of,' 'prime mover in.' Cf. c. 1. 6. *Auctor* (fr. *augere*) = one who makes something grow; it may thus be applied to the originator or to the promoter of anything, and is applied to the founder of a city, the instigator or adviser of a measure (c. 4. 8), etc. It is probably never applied in classical Latin to a writer (*scriptor*) except as the *authority* for a statement, etc. (*e.g.* c. 16. 11), or as an originator or model of a style of writing. See the passages cited in the Latin Index, and the renderings given in the notes on most of them.

Cicero (*Off.* III. 30. 109) says that Postumius was a *suasor et auctor* of the surrender; Livy seems in this chapter to follow a similar account, though in relating the events previous to the surrender (cc. 4 and 5) he gives no hint of such a version; indeed one would gather from c. 4 that Lentulus was the most prominent advocate of the *deditio.*

Veturius seems to have been less prominent in this respect. According to Cicero the chief onus lay with Postumius and the *tribuni plebis* (see § 13).

quod...esset. If *miserarentur* means 'deplored,' 'expressed their sorrow' (the usual meaning in prose) the subjunctive shows that the reason was that given by the senators; if *mis.* = 'pitied him,' the reason is stated as in their minds. See n. on *quando...esset*, c. 2. 15.

iram diremptae pacis. Cf. c. 34. 9 *ira finitae potestatis.* It is unnecessary to try to find a label for this genitive. The gen. depending on a noun may denote any kind of connexion between the two. Thus 'anger connected with...' = 'anger on account of....'

§ 13 **laudibus modo prosequentes.** If *modo* is genuine it probably goes closely with *laudibus*, 'with nothing but praises'; but it is absent from some MSS., and may be a corruption of a stupid gloss *domo*, written by someone who thought that *prosequentes* here meant 'escorting.' Such insertions are frequent in MSS. See Eng. Index under 'Interpolation.'

Prosequor is often used of escorting a person as a mark of honour, or of 'speeding the parting guest' or friend by accompanying him part of the way (cf. c. 7. 10). It thus comes to be used of honouring in various fashions, as here by praises.

in sententiam eius pedibus irent, 'crossed the house to support him.' To cross the floor of the house and place oneself near a senator who had made a proposal was a common method of signifying one's approval of the proposal. In Cicero's time, when the Senate had grown in numbers, only the senators of highest rank, as a rule, stated their opinion in the form of speeches; the others merely assented 'in a word' (*verbo*) or *pedibus ierunt*,—hence the term *pedarii senatores. Pedibus ire* may also refer to the *discessio* (a formal 'division' on a motion), and it is ordinarily so taken in the present passage. The meaning given above, however, seems to fit the context much better.

intercessio. This name (though sometimes used with reference to ordinary magistrates), was specially applied to the interference of the tribunes with the decree of a magistrate or with a bill or a *senatus consultum*, against all of which they had the right of veto, a privilege often abused by them. See Lat. Index *s.v. intercessio.*

tribunis plebis. See Appendix I., p. 252.

§ 14 **exsolvi...restituerentur**, corresponding to *exsolvitur...restituuntur* ('are being restored') of Or. Recta.

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§ 15 **pro eo, quod**, lit. 'for this, that....' Such amplified expressions became very common in late Latin. The *quod*-clause is explanatory, as often. Similarly with *ut*, IV. 56. 1, *plebis victoria fuit in eo, ut, quae mallent, comitia haberent.*

ad extremum, 'lastly.'

sacrosancti, 'inviolable,' 'consecrate,' guarded by a religious act (*sacrum*), *i.e.* by an oath taken by the people that they would treat as accursed (in other words, as an outlaw, excluded from all protection of law and sanctuary) anyone who offered violence to a tribune or interfered with the performance of his duties. The *sacrosanctitas* conferred by a sworn compact in 494 B.C. was confirmed by law in 449 B.C., on the abolition of the Decemvirate.

Chapter 9

§ 1 **profanos**, 'unconsecrate,' opp. to *sacrosanctos* (next sentence and c. 8. 15).

dedetis has nearly the force of an imperative; a colloquial idiom familiar in Cicero's letters. Cf. also XLIV. 36. 13 *rationes alias reposcite; nunc auctoritate veteris imperatoris contentus eris.*

audiatis, not *audietis*, as a few MSS. read. Postumius' suggestion is not made with any confidence, indeed it is hardly a suggestion at all. The apodosis *dedatis* must be supplied; *dedetis* is not the apodosis. Lit. 'if you were to listen to me, you would give them up flogged before they are surrendered.' Translate simply, 'but if you were to listen to my advice you would first flog them....'

§ 2 **hic in comitio**. The *curia*, in which the Senate was meeting, was on the north side of the Comitium. The Comitium was a rectangular space in the north of the Forum, where the *comitia*, except the *com. centuriata*, were held.

hanc iam ut. The unusual position of *ut* throws emphasis on *hanc* and *iam*; see also c. 24. 4.

intercalatae poenae usuram. *Intercalatae* is here taken by editors as=*dilatae*, 'deferred'; the punishment will be, so to speak, paid over to the tribunes at the end of their year of office, but meanwhile they should have a flogging by way of interest on it. But can *intercalatae* have this meaning? No other example of such a use is cited, and it is difficult to see how it could have arisen. *Intercalare*=to insert (a day or a month), as was often done by the Pontiffs to rectify

the calendar, and as is still done in Leap Years. The meaning 'insert' or 'add' can scarcely be absent from any figurative use of the word, so it is reasonable to suppose that *intercalare* was used of inserting something for a special purpose. If *intercalata poena* can mean 'added punishment,' the genitive in this passage must be a 'defining' or a 'constituent' genitive ('interest consisting of additional punishment') unless we take *usuram* in the sense of 'enjoyment,' 'use,' which would spoil a good metaphor. *Intercalatam* would be simpler and perhaps ought to be read here: 'intercalated interest on the punishment due to them.' Some may prefer to read *interea dilatae.*

§ 3 **quod**, 'whereas,' 'as to the fact that'; 'as regards their statement that the people is not being released....'

deditione nostra, 'surrender of us.' Pronominal adjectives often have the force of an objective genitive; *nostri*, however, would be quite correct here.

habeat. The subjunctive is regularly used when a reason is denied, as here. The most familiar instance is *non quod* (or *quo*) + subjunctive ...*sed quia* + indicative. *Quod* is more usual than *quia* to express a false reason.

iuris fetialium. The *ius fetialium* (or *fetiale*, Cic. *Off.* I. 11. 36, III. 29. 108) comprised the rules to be observed by the Fetials in demanding satisfaction, declaring war and making peace. It was said to have been taken over by Ancus Martius from the Aequiculi, a branch of the Aequi (I. 32. 5, Aur. Vict. *V. I.* V. 4), but this legend may have arisen from a fictitious etymology (*aequicoli* or *aequicolae* = observers of equity). *Ius fet.* is probably the nearest Latin equivalent to international law, which cannot be rendered by *ius gentium.* See n. on c. 10. 10.

§ 4 **infitias eo**, 'I deny.' *Infitias* (*in* + root of *fatus*) is the accus. of 'motion to,' used as in *venum ire* 'to be sold,' *pessum ire* 'to be destroyed' ('go to the bottom,' 'go under'). The word [*infitiae*] is used only in this phrase, and nearly always with a neg. in classical Latin.

patres conscripti. See n. on c. 10. 1.

sancta, 'attracted' to the case of *foedera.* The meaning of *sancire* is to 'settle irrevocably' by a religious act; so *sanciri* below.

iuxta, 'next to,' 'only in a less degree than.'

divinas religiones, 'the obligations of religion.'

quod, consecutive = *ut id*: 'so as to bind the people.'

§ 5 **an.** Strictly implying a previous alternative question: [Do you

think I am speaking falsely] 'or...?' When the preceding question is not expressed, the question introduced by *an* is generally vehement or indignant. Tr.: 'Or do you mean to tell me that...?' 'Or is it the case that...?' Cf. § 12 init.

expresserunt, c. 7. 12 n.

verba legitima, 'the regular formula.'

templa, delubra, 'temples and holy places.' *Templum* (√TEM-, 'cut,' from which come τέμνω and τέμενος) meant properly a rectangular space marked off by the augurs for sacred purposes (augury or worship). It then came to be applied, in the sense of *aedes*, to a temple built on such a spot. *Delubrum* (√ of λούω, *luo*, *lavo*), meant originally a place of purification, and so might be applied to any of the holy places set apart for the worship of the gods, where ceremonial purification might be practised. It was thus applied to the consecrated ground on which a temple was built. In poetry and later prose it is synonymous with *aedes* and *templum*.

§ 6 **omitto deditionem**, 'I pass from the mention of surrender,' 'I say no more about....' *Omitto*, here, as often, = leave off, give up, 'drop,' not 'omit.'

agitur de, 'the debate concerns,' 'the question at issue relates to....'

tandem, often used to strengthen interrogative words, 'What, pray?'

incensurum, sc. *spopondissemus populum Romanum.*

sub regibus futurum, a climax, calculated to call forth a loud disclaimer (*di meliora!*). The hatred of the name of *rex* brought on by the misrule of the Tarquins lasted long, as Spurius Maelius and Marcus Manlius had found to their cost. Even in Julius Caesar's time, as everyone knows, the charge of aspiring to kingly power could be brought with great effect. Cf. also c. 34. 17.

di meliora, sc. *duint*, old form = *dent*: 'the gods forbid.'

inquis, addressed to someone in the audience. 'You, sir, exclaim.'

atqui = καίτοι, 'and yet.'

indignitas rerum, c. 6. 2.

§ 7 **in quod**, indicating the direction of the obligation: 'to which the people can be bound down.'

refert, 'makes any difference.'

consul an.... *utrum* is omitted before *consul*, as frequently. The whole sentence is explanatory of *illud*, 'the question whether it was a consul or a dictator...who gave the guarantee.'

§ 8 **hcc...iudicaverunt,** *i.e.* they did not consider the pledge of a consul to be in itself an absolutely sure guarantee.

§ 9 **nec...quaesiverit,** more peremptory than the usual Pres. Subj., lit. 'and let no one prove (be found) to have asked me at this point.' Cf. c. 11. 13, *moratus sit nemo*; similarly in a prayer uttered by an excited Achaean in XXXIV. 24. 2, *ne istuc Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit* (=*siverit*) the Perf. Subj. makes the utterance more vehement: 'May Jupiter not be found to have permitted this!' The Perf. Subj. is, of course, common in prohibitions of the second person, but the present (as has recently been discovered, or re-discovered) is far more common except in colloquial language; from what has been mentioned above it seems likely that the perfect was thought too peremptory and harsh for the cultured literary language (cf. II. 12. 12, with Conway's n.).

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quae...erat...qui...mandaveratis, explanatory clauses introduced by Postumius, not part of the indirect question dependent on *quaesiverit*; hence indic., not subj.

§ 11 **nec...et,** n. on c. 4. 8.

male partam victoriam male perdiderunt. This has a proverbial ring. Cf. the well-known words of Naevius, *male parta* (ill-gotten gains) *male dilabuntur*, which Cicero, with an assumption of ignorance frequent in his speeches, gives as *apud poetam nescio quem* (*Phil.* II. 27. 65); Plaut. *Poen.* 844:

male partum male disperit.

Cf. also c. 34. 2. Tr.: 'they have squandered in ill wise an ill-gotten victory.'

quacumque = *qualibet*, as often; 'on any terms.'

in arma natis, 'born to wield arms,' 'framed by nature for the use of arms.'

§ 12 **an,** n. on § 4.

fuit. At first sight one would expect *fuisset*, to balance *si...fuisset*, but in expressions of possibility and duty the indicative is generally used; also with a few adjectives, esp. *melius*, *satius* and *longum*: *melius*, or *satius est* (*fuit*) = 'it would be (have been) better'; *longum est* (*fuit* or *erat*), 'it would be (have been) tedious (a lengthy matter).' Just as *non potuerunt mittere* may be used as apodosis to a protasis with *si* + pluperf. subj., so *difficile illis fuit mittere* will give good sense. The indicative gives more than a hypothetical meaning (*difficile fuit?* = 'was it a difficult matter?'), but generally a subjunctive is a more

natural Eng. translation. Cf. § 14 *fas fuit*, and n., and see Eng. Index under 'Indicative'; XXIV. 5. 1, *vix...facilis erat* ('would have been easy').

ab domo. *domo* without *ab* is the usual idiom in Latin (as in c. 33. 2), but Livy is rather fond of *ab domo*; cf. c. 22. 2, c. 25. 4; we may compare also the use of *ab* with names of towns, as in the next section.

accersunt. A colloquial by-form of *arcessunt.*

expeditis, 'unencumbered with baggage,' 'lightly accoutred.'

erat. This looks back to the time when any course was open to the Samnites; hence the imperf., not the pres.

§ 13 **in indutiis res fuisset**, 'hostilities would have been suspended' ('in a state of truce'); rather a favourite form of expression in Liv. Cf. II. 49. 9, *in populationibus res fuit*; VI. 13. 4 *peditum labor in persequendo fuit* ('was spent in the pursuit'). It must be remembered that it is disastrous to adopt a stock translation (*e.g.* 'thing,' 'affair') for *res*; see n. on c. 1. 3.

ab Roma, n. on *a Veis*, c. 4. 14.

certam, 'genuine,' 'decisive,' *i.e.* if the legions were restored to their hopeless position in the Caudine Forks. Opp. *vanam*, § 15.

adferrent, subjunctive, as usual with *dum*, *donec*, *quoad*, *ante quam* and *prius quam* when the action denoted by the verb is 'expected or counted upon.'

ea demum sponsio esset. 'That and that only would have been a *sponsio*.' For 'attraction' of *ea* to the gender of the noun in the predicate see n. on c. 2. 5 *ea*. *Demum* is frequently used with demonstrative pronouns and adverbs such as *hic*, *ibi*, *tum*. *Hic demum* = 'this and only this,' or 'here, and only here'; *tum demum* = 'then and not till then,' 'then at length' (but it is a mistake to suppose that *demum* alone is an ordinary Latin word for 'at length'). For *is demum* cf. XLV. 8. 7 *is demum vir erit, cuius animum neque prospera* (sc. *fortuna*) *flatu suo efferet nec adversa infringet.*

spopondissemus. The sentence may be translated freely, 'there would have been a *sponsio* only if we had guaranteed....' It will be seen that the rel. clause *quam...spopondissemus* has a conditional meaning, and it takes the construction which a *si*-clause would have. *Si quam* might take the place of *quam* here. Roby II. § 1558.

§ 14 **fas fuit.** It makes very little difference to the sense whether we translate 'was' or 'would have been according to the will of heaven.' See n. on *difficile fuit*, § 12.

fas = what is ordained by heaven. For the sentiment cf. § 10.

laetiore quam quod..., 'too joyous for their minds to grasp' ('take in'); a common Latin idiom; *quam ut* seems to be more usual in classical Latin (cf. c. 36. 14), but it would be very clumsy here, as the same words are used in the preceding clause. Cf. XXXIII. 32. 6 *maius gaudium fuit, quam quod universum homines acciperent.*

§ 15 **nequiquam eluderentur**, a pleonasm. Cf. c. 2. 8 n. Such redundancy is characteristic of homely speech; the same may be said of the love for 'jingles,' as *impedierat...expediret* in the next clause, and again the succeeding words, *vanam victoriam*, etc.

vanam...inritam. See n. on *certam*, § 13. The victory was *vana* ('unreal') because the enemy escaped their hands; it would be *inrita* ('undone,' 'annulled') by the *vanior pax*.

For the combination *vanam...vanior* cf. XXXIII. 44. 7 *vana spes ex vaniore rumore orta*, and (if the reading be correct) XXII. 24. 14 *vanam famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris...perlatam.*

§ 16 **quid...actum est?** 'What negotiation has there been?'

civem neminem. *Nemo* and *quisquam* are often used with nouns denoting persons instead of the corresponding adjectives *nullus* and *ullus*. On the other hand, as *nemo* is not used in the gen. or abl. in classical prose, *nullus* has to do double duty as adj. and subst. in these two cases.

§ 17 **nihil vobis nec nobiscum est...nec....** 'You have nothing to do either with us...or.' 'You are not concerned either with us...or the Samnites.' Lit. 'there is nothing to you with us.' Greek *οὐδὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν*; cf. St Matth. viii. 29, *τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ;*

§ 18 **Samnitibus sponsores...animos**, 'As guarantors we are held liable (and are quite competent) to satisfy the Samnite claims to the full extent of what is ours to give, of what we are able to make over to them, our own bodies and souls.'

Reus sometimes = one who is liable for a debt. (Hence *voti reus* = bound to discharge one's vow.) By being *sponsores* the consuls became liable to make good their bond if the people on whose behalf they were sureties refused to do what had been guaranteed. By such a refusal the Roman people freed itself from all obligation; the whole penalty fell on the guarantors, who were thus *rei* to the full extent of their means. *In id* is to be taken with *rei* rather than with *locupletes*; by adding *locupletes* Postumius means to affirm that they were 'good' sureties, able to discharge their obligation (*v. Digest* L. 16. 234, 1 *locuples est qui satis idonea habet pro magnitudine rei, quam petitor restituendam esse petit. Reus locuples* is found in this sense in Tac. *Dial.* v.).

In id quod nostrum est emphasises the fact that the whole onus of discharging the obligation falls on the *sponsores*, not on the Romans.

There are two verbs *praesto*: (1) = 'excel,' 'be superior'; (2) = (*a*) 'become surety for,' 'take upon one's self,' 'guarantee,' (*b*) 'discharge an obligation,' 'perform,' 'pay what is due,' (*c*) 'furnish,' 'present,' (*d*) 'show,' 'evince,' *e.g. praestare virtutem.* (1) comes from *prae* and *sto*, (2) from *praes sto* 'I stand as surety.'

saeviant, 'let them wreak their vengeance.'

§ 19 **possit...differatur.** The corresponding direct question would have *potest*, but *differatur*, 'deliberative' subjunctive.

in diem, a legal expression 'till an appointed day.'

luendae sponsioni. I have not ventured to restore here the reading of the best MSS., *luendae sponsionis*, though the gen. of a noun with a gerundive agreeing is used by Tacitus to express purpose in the well-known instance *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis* ('to gain information about the ancient history of the country'), *Ann.* II. 59; cf. *Hist.* IV. 25. The usage arose from the employment of such a gen. as a secondary predicate dependent on a noun, *e.g.* III. 24. 1, *frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse*, 'that obstruction aimed at the annulling of the law,' more literally 'was [an obstruction] concerned with annulling the law.'

sponsioni is a Dat. of Purpose or 'Work Contemplated.' Cf. c. 26. 6 *quaestionibus exercendis*; ib. 14 *exercendis quaestionibus*; 43. 19 *temptando certamini.*

feramus, 'let us offer' as a sacrifice, lit. 'carry' as an offering; apparently a poetical use. Cf. Verg. *G.* II. 394 *Baccho...lances et liba feremus.*

Chapter 10

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§ 1 **patres conscriptos.** *Patres conscripti* was the regular phrase used in addressing the Senate. The translation which is most natural at first sight is 'enrolled Fathers,' and that is what Willems (*Le Sénat* I. 39 ff.) considers that the words really mean. But according to Livy II. 1. 10 and Festus p. 254, the term *conscripti* was applied to plebeians enrolled in the Senate after the expulsion of the kings, to recruit the depleted ranks of the patrician members (*patres*), so that *patres, conscripti* is an Asyndeton = *patres et conscripti.* This view might seem to be borne out by the formula used in summoning the Senate: *qui patres, qui conscripti, in curiam ite*; but, as Conway has shown (n. on Livy, *loc. cit.*), there are plenty of parallel instances to

show that in old legal phraseology *qui patres, qui conscripti* might mean 'Ye who are both *patres* and *conscripti*,' *i.e.* 'Ye who are both (patrician) heads of families and enrolled (Senators).' Even if there was a new enrolment after the *Regifugium*, it is almost incredible that the new members (*conscripti*, if they were thus distinguished) were plebeians. Whatever may be the origin of the name, *conscripti* was in later times evidently looked on as agreeing with *patres*. Cicero uses the singular: *pater conscriptus repente factus est*. In Hor. *A. P.* 314 *conscriptus* = 'a senator.'

plebei, a fairly common form of the gen., from *plebes* (variant of *plebs*), which is treated as a noun of the 5th decl. See Conway on II. 24. 2.

§ 2 **magistratu...se abdicaverunt.** When they resigned their office they were no longer *sacrosancti*.

traditi, sc. *sunt*.

Caudium. Note the difference between this and *ad Caudium*, § 6. Pontius had gone to the town of Caudium to await the reply of the Roman people confirming the peace; hence *ad portam*, sc. *Caudi*, § 7.

lux quaedam...visa est. A picturesque, poetical expression, of which Livy is rather fond, esp. with *spes* (cf. Eng. 'a ray of hope'), XXIII. 32. 7, XXVII. 28. 14, XXXII. 19. 1, XLII. 65. 11; once with *fortuna*, XXX. 30. 15.

For the meaning of *quaedam* see n. on c. 2. 10 *velut torpor quidam*.

§ 3 **in ore erat**, 'was on everyone's lips': usually a genitive (*e.g. omnium*) is added to this expression.

laudibus ad caelum ferebant, 'praised him to the skies': another picturesque phrase. Cf. II. 49. 1, *Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt*; Cic. *Phil.* IV. 3. 6, *Att.* XVI. 7. 5, but *efferre* ib. XIV. 18. 1, *tollere* ib. VI. 2. 9. In c. 33. 6 we have *laudibus ferre* without *ad caelum*.

eum...devotioni...claris facinoribus aequabant. A frequent form of brachylogy, often called *Comparatio Compendiaria*. Strictly it was not Postumius (*eum*) but his action that was likened to the self-devotion of Decius. Cf. c. 15. 10, 18. 11, 40. 11, and the following sentence from a recent issue of a Montreal paper: 'How will our streets, our water supply and our general sanitation compare with the plague-ridden cities of the East?' Another common form of *comparatio compendiaria* is found in such phrases as *celerius opinione* = 'more quickly than was expected' (lit. 'than expectation').

devotioni P. Deci. See n. on c. 4. 10, *me devovere*.

facinoribus. *facinus* can be used of any notable deed, good or bad, but is generally used of crimes.

§ 4 **emersisse**, another picturesque word. The State had raised its head out of its 'sea of troubles'; an *obnoxia pax* had all but engulfed it.

obnoxia, 'abject,' 'slavish,' 'humiliating.' The word is properly used of persons. Cf. VII. 30. 2 *tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti atque obnoxii vobis minus essemus*, 'for then, remembering that we had contracted friendship with you on equal terms, we should have been, though perhaps no less friendly than now, yet less submissive and subservient to you.' In XXIII. 12. 9 we have virtually a definition of *obnoxius*: *si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, quorum alterum* (*i.e.* to be *superbus*) *est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum* (*i.e.* to be *obnoxius*) *suae* [sc. *libertatis obliti*].

Pace obnoxia is found also in VI. 28. 7. For a somewhat different use of *obnoxius* see c. 5. 8 n.

§ 5 **spectant**, 'look forward to,' 'contemplate.' Cf. VI. 33. 1.

en umquam.... A skilful change, to add picturesqueness to the narrative. 'Look you,' they said, 'shall we *ever* be allowed to meet the Samnites point to point?' The corresponding Oratio Recta is *en umquam* [*nobis*] *congredi armatis cum Samnite licebit?*

For the dat. *armatis* cf. c. 4. 9 n.

Samnite, c. 1. 7 n.

§ 6 **dilectus**, etc.: 'the levy was made up almost entirely of volunteers.' Contrast c. 42. 9 and V. 16. 5 *non iusto* ('regular') *dilectu..., sed prope voluntariorum...coacta manu.*

rescriptae ex eodem milite. *eodem milite* = the soldiers who had come from the Caudine Forks. *Scribere* (c. 19. 2, 43. 4) and *conscribere* are used of enlisting soldiers; *re-scriptae* = 're-enrolled.'

ad Caudium, 'towards Caudium.' See c. 2. 2 n., and contrast *Caudium* without preposition in § 2 of this chapter.

§ 7 **apparitor**, a general term for an attendant of an official, here of the *fetiales*. Cf. c. 46. 2 *appareret.*

maiestatis. The objective gen. with *verecundia* in the sense of 'respect for,' 'awe of' seems to be little used, if at all, before the Augustan period. Cf. II. 36. 3 *verecundia maiestatis magistratuum.* Cicero uses the word with a gen. = shrinking from, hesitation to do something.

quin tu adducis lorum? Cf. c. 11. 2, 18. 11. *Quin* (= *qui*, an

old instrumental case found in class. Lat. in the sense of 'how?', and *-ne*) = 'why not?' It is often used with a pres. indic. to give an eager command or exhortation. The favourite instance is I. 57. 7 *quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia?*

Quin is sometimes used to strengthen an imperative mood, = *age, agedum*, 'come now,' *e.g.* Cic. *Mil.* 29. 79, *Quin sic attendite, iudices.*

adducis, 'draw tight.'

§ 8 **coetum** = *concilium*, c. 7. 1.

tribunal. Pontius, like the general in a Roman camp, had a *tribunal*; he also had lictors (c. 11. 13) and *viatores* (X. 38. 7). [W.-M.] The *tribunal* was a raised platform, from which the general administered justice and addressed the soldiers (c. 13. 1). In Rome the *sella* of the presiding magistrate at a trial was placed on a *tribunal.*

fetialis, *i.e.* the *pater patratus* (n. on c. 5. 1). Aulus Cornelius Arvina was a distinguished man, who had been twice Magister Equitum and twice consul, and had as dictator inflicted such a signal defeat on the Samnites that they sued for peace (B.C. 322); VIII. 38 and 39.

§ 9 **quandoque**, an old-fashioned word, seldom found in a causal sense (= *quando, quandoquidem*). Tr.: 'Whereas.' *Quod* is used with a similar meaning in another old formula of the *fetiales*, I. 32. 13.

hisce. *Hisce* or *heisce* is an old-fashioned form of the nom. plur. masc., used by Plautus before a word beginning with a vowel, and found in some inscriptions of Capua. The suffix *-ce* is the enclitic particle with demonstrative force found in *hic, cĕ-do* ('give here'), etc. The form *his*, without the suffix, is supposed by some (on the alleged authority of Donatus) to be nom. plur. masc. in Verg. *Ec.* III. 102, but this is improbable (see Conington[5] *ad loc.*).

noxam nocuerunt, 'committed an injury.' An old expression, found occasionally in legal phraseology. *Noxam* 'Cognate Accus.,' a construction which generally requires a qualifying adjective. See n. on *eam pugnam pugnatam*, c. 37. 11.

quo, 'whereby,' *i.e.* 'to the intent that.' In the best prose *quo* expressing purpose seems to be practically confined to clauses containing a comparative adjective or adverb; in these it is regularly used instead of *ut*: *quo celerius iret* = *ut eo celerius iret.* For another instance without a comparative see c. 37. 7.

sit solutus. More expressive than *solvatur*: not 'may be freed'

but 'may be free from,' 'rid of,' ἀπολελυμένος ᾖ. Cf. the force of *quaesiverit*, c. 9. 9.

§ 10 **quanta maxime poterat vi.** Cf. c. 24. 9. In his later books Livy prefers an adj. instead of an adverb, as *quanta maxima poterat vi.* He never uses a constr. of the type of *quam maxima poterat vi*, which is so common in classical prose. See also n. on c. 11. 3, *cum qua potes fide.*

perculit=*percussit*, 'struck,' 'smote,' a rare use, of which this passage and c. 11. 11 are possibly the only examples, in prose, at least,—perhaps an instance of *Patavinitas*. *Percellere* properly means 'to strike down,' 'overthrow.' For the metaphorical use of the word see c. 22. 7.

Samnitem civem. Postumius assumes that the *deditio* is accepted by the Samnites, in which case he would, as a prisoner of war, belong (though not, it is true, as a *civis*) to the Samnite community. [Lut.]

ius gentium, 'The usage of mankind.' 'It was in all probability first employed as a quasi-technical expression by the lawyers of the second century B.C.…They originally intended to express by it such customs or usages as the Romans found, in the experience which they would pick up away from Italy in war or commerce or travel, or in their intercourse with *peregrini* in Italy itself, to be universally observed…. In the numerous details of commerce and general intercourse which would be brought across his path, the Roman would find some practices or usages universally prevalent, and these he referred to the category of *ius gentium*.' Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, p. 508. Unlike the *ius civile*, the *ius gentium* was not reduced to a systematic code till a late date. It was to a large extent unwritten. See also nn. on *iuris humani*, c. 1. 8, *ius fetialium*, c. 9. 3.

gesturos, sc. *Romanos*. Cf. c. 1. 11 fin. n.

Chapter 11

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§ 2 **quin,** c. 10. 7 n.

pacto stas, c. 5. 5, 5. 3 n., and § 6 of this chapter.

§ 3 **quid ego te appello…populum Romanum appello.** Postumius' sentiments were the direct opposite, c. 9. 16 *quis vos appellare potest?*

cum qua potes fide=*cum ea fide qua potes*, a common constr., with which we may compare *quanta maxime poterat vi*, c. 10. 10.

quem, si=*qui, si eum.* In translating we must begin a new sentence with *quem*: 'if they repent...let them restore.'

saeptae fuerunt, 'were prisoners'; not=*saeptae sunt*, for such a use of the perf. part. with *fui* does not seem to be found in Livy, and the same is true of *fuisse*; but he is more free in his use of *fuerat* and some other words; see n. on c. 1. 4, *repetitae fuerant*, and Riemann, *Études*, p. 214 ff.

§ 4 **nemo quemquam deceperit.** *nemo=ne quis* (cf. § 13, v. 44. 1). 'Let no one have deceived anyone,' *i.e.* let the Roman deception be as if it had never occurred, and let us return to the state of affairs which existed when the Romans were enclosed in the Caudine Forks. This use of the perfect *deceperit* is different from that in § 13 and c. 9. 9; see n. on the latter passage.

pro infecto, 'as if they had not happened,' 'as if they had never been done.' This use of *pro* ('as' or 'as good as') is exactly=that of Eng. 'for' in such an expression as 'to give up for lost.' So *pro certo* (c. 1. 11) and many other phrases.

recipiant, sc. *legiones* (§ 3 fin.).

pridie quam=*priore die quam*; *quam* is natural after the virtual comparative. Similarly *ante quam* ('before,' *i.e.* '*earlier than*'), used like *prius quam.*

repudietur, sing. either because *sponsio et pax* forms one idea (cf. c. 6. 7 n.) or because *pax*, the more important notion (as the *sponsio* was meant to be a mere preliminary to the *pax*), dominates the whole sentence; cf. XXXI. 18. 3 *aetas et forma et super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit* (qu. by Gildersleeve and Lodge, § 285, who illustrate this use by Psalm lxxiii. 26, 'My flesh and my heart faileth,' and the other use by Prov. i. 27, 'When distress and anguish cometh upon you.').

§ 5 **fortuna**, 'condition of our fortunes.'

iis locis. The abl. of 'place where' is found without *in* several times in Cicero when there is a qualifying adjective; it is quite frequent in Caesar and even more common in Livy (cf. c. 40. 7, *dextro cornu consistit*). *Locus* is one of the words used most frequently in this way; cf. c. 19. 15. When there is no accompanying adjective the abl. without a preposition in this sense belongs in classical times to the language of poetry, except in the case of names of towns and small islands and a few other words (*e.g. terra marique*). Cf. Cic. *Fin.* v. 4. 9, *caelo, mari, terra, ut poetice loquar*, where he seems to apologise for using the poetical licence of omitting the preposition *in* before *caelo.* Livy, however, has many instances of the poetical

construction without *in*, especially (though by no means exclusively) with *sedere*; *e.g.* I. 34. 8, *ei carpento sedenti*; V. 41. 2, *medio aedium sedere*; I. 25. 12, *gladium iugulo defigit*; XXII. 20. 2, *carinas fixerunt vadis.* See also n. on c. 18. 1.

§ 6 **defiet.** This and similar forms belong to archaic and to poetical language. *Defit* occurs in Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, and Vergil (*Ec.* II. 32). *Defiet* is found in Terence. In meaning it is the same as *deficiet.*

Porsinnae. This spelling seems to be better attested than *Porsenna* in the MSS. of Livy. Horace, *Epod.* XVI. 4, has *Porsĕna*:

Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus.

This is the form familiar to English readers from Macaulay's well-known lay. Porsinna, king of Clusium in Etruria, is the king who was attacking Rome when 'Horatius kept the bridge' (II. 10).

The reference here is to the story of Cloelia. She and other maidens were among the hostages sent to Porsinna to ensure his evacuation of the Janiculum. As the Etruscan camp was not far from the Tiber she eluded the guards, leading a number of her comrades out of the enemy's quarters, and swam with them across the Tiber amid a hail of javelins. Porsinna was at first very angry, but subsequently veered round to warm admiration for Cloelia's bravery, which he rewarded by consenting to the freedom of all the girls who had escaped and liberating other hostages whom he allowed her to select. (Liv. II. 13. 6—10.)

furto...subduxistis. Pontius blames the Romans as a whole for the Cloelia-episode.

auro etc., c. 4. 14 n.

Note the repetition *auro...aurum.* Gold was the promised ransom; it was this which was being paid when the base attack came.

inter accipiendum aurum, 'in the act of taking the gold.' So *inter aurum accipiendum*, VI. 11. 5, in the same connexion. No preposition but *ad* is common in classical Latin with the accus. of a gerund or gerundive. *Ob* and *inter* are occasionally so used, the former by Cicero and others (not by Caesar), the latter mostly in Livy and in post-classical writers. Cf. VI. 39. 10 *inter accipiendas rogationes*; XXXIV. 25. 6 *inter haec agenda*; XL. 42. 1 *inter exponendas res.* In *Praef.* 6 Livy has *ante conditam condendamve urbem*, but the Perf. Part. which precedes the gerundive softens the harshness. For prepositions governing the abl. of the gerund or gerundive see n. on c. 17. 5.

7 **inritam,** c. 9. 15 n.

§ 8 **legiones servatas**, 'the preservation of the legions'; c. 1. 4 n.

pacem sibi habeat, 'let them keep their peace to themselves'; *i.e.* 'let them refuse peace to us if they like: we can do without it.'

fide...foederibus...fetialibus. Note the alliteration. There is a great deal of alliteration in this passage. The desire for alliteration is perhaps responsible for the introduction of *foederibus*, which is loosely used, unless, indeed, Pontius wishes to make out that the agreement made amounted to a *foedus*.

dignum erat, 'would have been worthy'; but we may also say, 'this was what honesty, treaties and the rites of the Fetials required.' See n. on *difficile fuit*, c. 9. 12.

§ 9 **ut**, explanatory of *hoc*.

ut tu habeas...ego non habeam, 'that you should have...while I should not have'; a μέν and δέ sentence (Adversative Asyndeton).

hoc iuris, more contemptuous than *hoc ius*, 'this piece of law.'

§ 10 **nec moror quo minus**, 'nor do I hinder them from returning....'

numen, 'divinity.' *numen*, from *nuo*, meant originally 'nod,' hence 'will' or 'good pleasure'; but it has been plausibly suggested that the Greek πνεῦμα has influenced the meaning of the word, so that it comes to mean 'divine spirit,' hence concretely 'a deity,' and by a blending of meanings 'divine good pleasure,' 'divine will.'

§ 11 **modo perculit**, 'has just struck.'

ita di credent.... Ironical and bitterly sarcastic.

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eo, causal abl. 'for that reason,' common with *quod*. When used to anticipate *ut* 'to this end...that,' *eo* may be the adverb = 'thither.'

§ 12 **ludibria religionum**, 'mockeries of the sacred bonds of religion.'

non pudere, sc. *vos*. Exclamatory Infinitive; 'to think that you are not ashamed...!'

fallendae fidei, dat. of purpose. [Probably not gen.—a rare constr.] See n. on c. 9. 19.

§ 13 **lictor**, n. on c. 10. 8.

moratus sit nemo, n. on c. 9. 9.

visum fuerit, n. on c. 1. 4. This may be either Fut. Perf. Ind. or Perf. Subj. by 'attraction' to the other subjunctives. The meaning is the same in either case.

forsitan et publica. *et* = also; cf. c. 2. 4 n. *forsitan* is here used as an ordinary adverb; in strict classical usage it takes a subjunctive.

Livy, in spite of his patriotism and his familiarity with Roman

formalism, cannot keep back some misgivings as to the responsibility of the State for this mockery of justice.

liberata, opp. *obstricta* (Plin. *Ep.* IV. 13. 11).

ab Caudio, c. 4. 14 n.

CHAPTER 12

§ 1 **Samnitibus**, dat., not Abl. Abs. The dative of the person interested or affected (c. 5. 11 n.) is often used where Eng. would have a gen. The stock instance is Caes. *B. G.* I. 31. 2 *sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes se proiecerunt*, 'they all flung themselves, weeping, at Caesar's feet.' The gen. is, of course, not wrong; *e.g.* Liv. XXVI. 32. 8, *ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt.*

in oculis, n. on c. 6. 3.

esse, Historic Inf.; c. 5. 8 n.

§ 2 **utraque consilia.** See c. 3. 6 and 7, and, for the use of *utraque*, § 5 below.

media via. See 'Notes on the Text.'

victoriae...mutasse, 'had exchanged the sure possession of victory for an uncertain (problematical) peace.' *Mutare* here takes acc. of the thing given, abl. of the thing taken in exchange (Abl. of Price). This is the regular classical construction. Livy and Sallust, however, sometimes reverse the construction; so also Horace in some well-known passages, *e.g. Carm.* III. 1. 47:

Cur valle permutem Sabina
Divitias operosiores?

mutasse is infin., not subjunctive, because *inter quae*, etc. represents a principal clause of Or. Recta, *quae* being used, as often, instead of a demonstrative pronoun to introduce the sentence and connect it with the previous one: 'between these, they said, they had fallen, and so had got...in exchange.' If *quae* had introduced a relative clause qualifying *consilia*, correct usage would require *mutassent*, according to the rule that every subordinate clause converted into Or. Obl. must have its verb in the subjunctive mood. It must be confessed, however, that Livy sometimes uses an infinitive where we should expect a subjunctive.

potuerint. Tense of Or. Recta retained in Or. Obl. See n. on c. 6. 13. The O. R. would be *potuimus* 'we could have...' (not *potuissemus*), the indicative being regular in expressions denoting possibility; see n. on *difficile fuit*, c. 9. 12.

inimicos tollere...amicos facere. Almost the identical words of *senex Pontius*, c. 3. 12.

§ 3 **nullodum**, found in several passages of Livy, but hardly in any other author. The suffix is the same as in *nondum* 'not yet,' *hauddum* (said to be only once used outside of Livy), *necdum*.

inclinatis. Used often of turning the scale in one direction or another, *e.g.* to victory or defeat. Cf. § 7 below, *fraus rem inclinavit*. Livy uses it both transitively and intransitively (*e.g.* c. 45. 3). It is often used with a word like *acies*. *Acies inclinabat* = 'the line began to give way,' *aciem inclinabant* = 'they began to make the line give way'; *aciem impellere* is similarly used in c. 40. 9. In c. 32. 6 *se inclinare* is used of the sun beginning to sink after noon. Tr.: 'though there had, so far, been no battle to change the balance of power.' The meaning is that without any Roman victory to redress the disaster at the Caudine Forks a great change had taken place in the aspect of affairs; Postumius was exalted to the position of a hero and martyr, while Pontius gained little credit for his bloodless victory, which had borne such poor fruit; and the temper of the Romans was more hopeful than that of the Samnites.

mutaverant. *Mutare* is properly a trans. verb (cf. § 2), but is often intrans. in Livy, where strict usage would require *mutari* or *se mutare*. Other verbs which are sometimes used in this irregular fashion are *moveo* (with which *castra* can often be supplied) and *verto* (cf. c. 17. 6). Cf. also *ferebant*, c. 2. 6 n.

§ 4 **geri posse Romani...Samnites rebellasse.** The arrangement is roughly chiastic. The name of the figure *chiasmus* is derived from the Greek letter χ, and signifies the arrangement of two clauses in such a way that the word which commences one corresponds to the word which ends the other and the order of the other words is correspondingly changed. The above is not a perfect example. *geri posse bellum* is a noun-clause, object to *haberent*: lit. 'they considered in the light of an assured victory the fact that war was able to be carried on,' *i.e.* 'they considered the fact that they were free to carry on the war as tantamount to an assurance of victory.' Through their recent deliverance their hands were free to prosecute the war; this they regarded as ensuring victory for them.

For this use of *pro* see n. on c. 11. 4.

Samnites, 'whereas the Samnites,' etc. The omission of an adversative conjunction in Latin makes the contrast all the stronger.

rebellasse, 'had renewed the war,' not 'had rebelled.'

§ 5 **Satricani.** Satricum was in Latium, not far from the coast-town of Antium, but its exact position has not been determined. Stephenson is almost certainly wrong in placing it on the Via Appia.

Fregellae: c. 4. 4 n.

necopinato. To understand the formation of this word it is necessary to remember that in Old Latin *nec* is found in the sense of *non*; cf. *neglego* (=*nec-lego*, as it is often spelt in MSS.); also in Livy *necdum*=*nondum*, IV. 13. 5. See Conway on II. 22. 2, and compare the use of *neque*, c. 22. 2 n.

inde goes closely with *timor*. See n. on *Apuli circa*, c. 15. 1.

utrosque. The plurals *utrique*, *utri*, *neutri* are often used with reference to two parties (armies, etc.); the singular is used of individuals. Cf. c. 29. 5, 39. 2 (*neutri*). When these words are used as adjectives the sing. is generally employed, *e.g.* *uterque exercitus*; in § 2 above *utraque* practically=*ambo* (a use found occasionally in Livy), and does not fall under the rule.

§ 6 **quam aliquamdiu aequam,** an evil-sounding combination; but the Romans did not object to this particular cacophony.

imbellis multitudo, *i.e.* the women and children and others (old men and possibly slaves) who were not on the fighting strength. Cf. XXXVIII. 21. 14, *feminae puerique et alia imbellis turba.*

tamen. If we keep this reading, we must suppose an ellipsis: [in spite of the difficulty of the situation] 'yet the F. maintained the contest on equal terms, both because....' Such an ellipsis is quite possible with *tamen* (there is a far more glaring instance in Verg. *Aen.* IX. 315), but the position of the word here is unusual; we should have expected it immediately after *quam* or *aliquamdiu*. Madvig suggests *certamen*, and this reading is adopted by recent editors; besides removing the awkwardness it furnishes an object to *adiuvabat*. But *adiuvare* without an object is certainly not unparalleled (cf. c. 23. 10), and the corruption of such a well-known word as *certamen*, though possible, is perhaps scarcely probable. It seems preferable, then, to adopt Madvig's alternative suggestion, viz. to delete *tamen*. The interpolation could, I think, be explained in this way:—MSS. vary between the readings *Fregellae* and *Fregellani*. Alternative readings in MSS. are very often preceded by the word *vel*, which is frequently represented in early minuscule script by the contraction *ł* (*i.e.* *l* with a contraction-stroke). The contraction for *tamen* was *tn̄*. Thus *ł Fregellani* with a downward flourish in the contraction-stroke was taken for *tamen Fregellani.*

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§ 7 **<eum>abiturum**, explaining *vox*.

posuisset, regular, representing a Fut. Perf. Indic. of O. R.

ea spes = *eius rei spes*. This 'pregnant' meaning is common in Livy. Cf. c. 24. 7, *hoc ascensu*, II. 21. 6, *eo nuntio* = *eius rei nuntio*.

iactari coepta, c. 7. 7 n.

§ 8 **aversam**, opp. of *adversam* ('facing'); 'in the rear,' 'at the back,' 'remote from the enemy'; cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 66 (*porta*) *decumana, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior*, which, from its similar wording (*aversa...tutior*) looks like an echo of the present passage.

incautus ad credendum, 'rash to believe,' 'rashly credulous.' Cf. c. 16. 14, *invicti ad laborem*. *Ad* = 'in the direction of' or 'as far as,' hence 'as far as concerns,' 'in the matter of.'

Note the personification of *pavor*; cf. *immemor nox*, c. 3. 4 n.

quos...concremaverunt. Note the impression of horror conveyed so skilfully by these few clear-cut phrases, and also the suggestion of impiety as well as cruelty in the Samnites, which leads the reader to regret less strongly the fraud of the 'Caudine peace,' and gives an air of justice to the final destruction of the Samnite power.

§ 9 **Consules...Papirius...pergit..., Publilius...substitit**, an obvious, but not very elegant construction. Cf. XXIV. 20. 3, *Consules Marcellus retro...Nolam rediit, Fabius in Samnites...processit.* Some would put a full stop after *provincias*.

provincias, 'departments,' 'spheres of duty,' the proper meaning of the word. In later times it was generally, but by no means always, specialised to denote a district outside Italy governed by a Roman magistrate.

Luceriam, c. 2. 6.

Caudinas legiones, *i.e.* the Samnite forces which had taken part in the capture at the Caudine Forks: *legiones* is somewhat loosely used of troops not belonging to the Roman army.

§ 10 **distendit**, 'distracted,' a vivid word, lit. 'stretched their minds in different directions.' Both Luceria and Samnium needed them; they were torn between the two, as it were. Cf. c. 16. 6.

ab tergo, 'on the rear'; the preposition is similarly used in *a fronte* 'in front,' *a dextra, a sinistra, a latere*; also in phrases like *ab aliquo stare* 'to stand by, support a person.' The origin of the use can be inferred from such a phrase as *a tergo adoriri*, where either 'on' or

'from the rear' would be an intelligible translation. Cf. also *ex parte altera* 'on the other side,' c. 14. 6. Similarly *hinc* = on this side, c. 21. 3.

§ 11 **transigere**, 'to get through with,' 'despatch,' an unusual word in this connexion, though *transigere bellum* is found in Tacitus. They decided to trust to luck (*committere rem fortunae*) and to plunge into a battle and get it over. Perhaps *transigere* in this sense is a soldier's word. In its spirit it is like *concinnare* as used by Naevius of the Roman army:

Transit Melitam
Exercitus Romanus,...
...rem hostium concinnat

('settles the enemy's business,' as Prof. Tyrrell, perhaps rather unkindly, translates it).

Chapter 13

§ 1 **ceterum**, a favourite conjunction with Livy. Cf. § 9.

sicut...ita = *ut...ita*, a combination which often means 'although... yet.'

praetorium, 'the general's tent' (c. 2. 12 and 15), at the north-east corner of which the *tribunal* (c. 10. 8), from which he addressed the soldiers, was regularly placed.

prae clamore. Like the English 'for,' *prae* is used in this sense with an accompanying negative. Cf. c. 6. 12, c. 14. 5.

§ 2 **suus cuique**, c. 7. 5.

adhortator aderat, 'was at hand to exhort them,' lit. 'was present as exhorter.' Cf. c. 27. 11 *hortator adfuerat*, XXI. 11. 7 *hortator aderat*. Nouns in *-tor* properly denote a permanent characteristic; Q. Fabius Maximus was called *Cunctator*, 'the Delayer,' because to 'delay' was his settled policy. But in Livy such nouns often denote an aspect or function of a person on a particular occasion, being practically equal to a participle, either present or, when denoting purpose, future.

vadunt. Often used of a force moving to the attack. The simple verbs *vado* and *eo* have a thrilling effect which their commonplace compounds lacked. This is especially the case with *eo*, e.g. c. 4. 16, 36. 6 n.

signiferos. On the march the *signiferi* went in front of the army, but in battle they seem to have been stationed in the rear rank of their respective maniples (each maniple had one *signum* and probably two *signiferi*). But on this occasion the soldiers seem to

have given the standard-bearers no time to retire, but pushed them along at the head of the force.

pilis emittendis stringendisque inde gladiis. Note the chiastic arrangement (c. 12. 4 n.). Tr.: 'caused by hurling their javelins before drawing their swords.' The real meaning of the sentence does not seem to have been understood by all the edd.; see next n. To call *pilis emittendis* etc. 'a modal or temporal use of the abl.' only obscures the sense. The abl. is one of cause, a branch of the instrumental abl. The abl. of the gerund or gerundive is usually instrumental, denoting either means or cause; but often, especially in Livy and his successors, it can be translated 'with regard to,' 'in the matter of,' etc., and may thus be grouped under the 'Ablative of the Part or Thing concerned,' like *temporibus errasti*, 'you have gone wrong in the dates' (Postgate's *New Latin Primer*, § 151, p. 85); so perhaps in § 3 below, *ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis*, 'in ranging the fighting lines or the reserves.' For the abl. of the gerund or gerundive = the nom. of the pres. participle see n. on c. 29. 8.

inde, 'then,' 'after that.' The regular method of engaging in battle among the Romans was to fling their javelins (*pila*) and then draw their swords and charge the enemy (c. 19. 7 n.). On this occasion the soldiers were impatient of the partial halt which would be caused by flinging their javelins and then drawing their swords; they therefore with one accord threw away their *pila* as an encumbrance. Cf. c. 35. 3, 39. 6.

cursu feruntur in, 'charge'; *cursu* is Instrumental Ablative, though it may be called 'Ablative of Manner'; see n. on c. 2. 2.

§ 3 **nihil imp. artis.** The so-called 'Partitive Genitive' is common in Livy after *nihil*.

ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis. Probably abl. (see n. on *pilis emittendis* etc., § 2), but possibly Dat. of Purpose or 'Use Served.'

ordinibus seems here to denote the fighting lines proper (*i.e.* the *hastati* and the *principes*); *subsidia* = the *triarii*, who were ranged in the rear to act as a reserve line if required.

ira...egit. The personification (uncommon in most Latin prose writers) is here very telling. It was anger that did the work; the soldiers were mere tools in its hands. Cf. § 5, c. 14. 9.

militaris. See n. on *hostilis*, c. 2. 9; but the word is not a mere equivalent for *militum*; the *ira* was genuine soldierly wrath.

prope vesano. Note the exactness of Latin. English would say 'a mad rush,' but the Latin writer, knowing that *vesanus* means

'insane,' modifies the word with *prope*. There are many instances of this in prose. Cf. c. 23. 15 *velut vecordes*.

§ 4 **non modo...sed ne...quidem**, 'Not only were the enemy routed... but not venturing to let even the camp stop their flight they made for Apulia in disorder.' *Non modo* before *sed ne...quidem* is not here = *non modo non*; for the reason see n. on c. 19. 14.

Livy does not here mention where the battle was fought; but c. 15. 9 seems to imply that it was near Caudium.

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§ 5 **tulerat...pertulit**. *pertulit* = 'carried them all the way.'

ira corrupta, 'was spoilt owing to their anger'; *ira* abl. of cause.

§ 6 **locis maritimis**: presumably by the *altera via* mentioned in c. 2. 6 init.

Arpos, a town in the north of Apulia.

omnia pacata, 'regions wholly tranquillised'; cf. XXI. 35. 7 *per omnia nive oppleta* 'through a region all blocked with snow.' Livy is fond of using the neuter plural of an adjective to denote localities.

Samnitium. This has to do double duty, first as a Subjective Gen. with *iniuriis* ('injuries done by the Samnites'; cf. *populi Romani* at the end of the sentence); secondly as an Objective Gen. with *odio*, 'hatred borne towards them.'

§ 7 **tempestate**, 'time,' 'season,' a meaning found frequently in Sallust and Livy.

vicatim, 'in villages,' lit. 'village by village.' Cf. *pagatim* XXXI. 30. 6 (*pagatim habitantes*), 26. 10.

cultorum, 'agriculturists,' as opposed to the herdsmen of the highlands; not 'inhabitants,' as Stephenson takes it.

fere, 'generally.'

locis simili genere, 'nature corresponding to the locality.' The mild climate had an enervating effect, as compared with the bracing air of the hill-country.

montani atque agrestes, 'rough highlanders,' an emphatic repetition of *in montibus vicatim habitantes*.

depopulabantur, 'were in the habit of plundering.'

§ 8 **interiecta...Arpos**. If we take these words with *regio*, they are an otiose and absurd addition; if we take *interiecta* with *penuria* they give a strained and unnatural expression. I therefore follow the

Teubner text in bracketing *interiecta...Arpos* as the gloss of an annotator.

penuria rerum omnium, cf. c. 4. 1 *omnium rerum inopia.*

exclusos, referring to *exercitus*; a *Constructio ad Sensum.* See n. on c. 16. 8.

§ 9 **tum quoque**, 'even so,' 'even as it was.' So *nunc* often='as things now are.'

inde, *i.e. ab Arpis.*

iuxta, adv.=*pariter.*

obsessos. An unexpected addition, as there has been no mention of the siege of Luceria, though *profectos ad Luceriam* implies that the Romans came for that purpose; moreover the whole point of the sentence, as contrasted with the previous one, is that *the Romans*, in spite of the advantages just referred to, suffered from scarcity of necessaries, and *profectos*, with which *obsessos* ostensibly agrees, refers to them alone.

militi, *i.e.* the infantry, as opposed to *eques*; both words are used collectively. See n. on c. 1. 7.

stationibus vigiliisque et opere. *et* links the two ideas, *stationibus vigiliisque* ('sentry-duty by day and night,' cf. c. 24. 5, v. 48. 6) and *opere* ('manual labour,' such as the building of the camp and of siege-works). *stationibus* here=*excubiis*, sentry-duty by day; *statio* is more properly used of the post of a picket in front of the gates of a camp (c. 21. 3; cf. Caes. *B.G.* IV. 32. 1, *ei qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant*), and is often used concretely for the soldiers performing such a duty.

folliculis...veheret. If provisions had been plentiful, they would have been brought in wagons, not on horseback.

ab Arpis. The repetition of these words may be due either to inadvertence or to the incorporation of an explanatory comment in the text, like *interiecta* etc. in the last section.

§ 10 **interdum**, etc. The asyndeton throws emphasis on this clause; this additional fact made the scarcity of supplies still greater.

victore exercitu, 'with his victorious army.' The Abl. of Accompaniment is often thus used in mentioning a general's troops when an adjective (other than a cardinal numeral) is attached to the noun. This use must not be confused with the strictly instrumental use, *e.g.* XXIII. 29. 4, *Hasdrubal mediam aciem Hispanis firmat*; the Spaniards are the means by which Hasdrubal strengthens the line. See also nn. on c. 15. 1, *omnibus copiis* and *altero exercitu.*

obsessis, Dative of Disadvantage; n. on c. 5. 11.

§ 11 **artiora omnia fecit**, 'made their situation more difficult in every way,' lit. 'made everything more straitened.' By using the neut. plur. of an adj. or pron. Latin can often express the meaning far more simply and neatly than English can. Similarly at the end of the sentence *cuncta...fecerat*, 'had endangered the provisioning of the enemy in all directions,' lit. 'had made everything dangerous to....'

obsidione...collegae, 'leaving the siege to his colleague.' More usual would be *curae* for *in curam* or *cura obsidionis collegae* (or *ad collegam*) *delegata*.

fecerat, pluperf., denoting an action previous to that referred to by *fecit*. The repetition *fecit...fecerat* is inelegant, and is probably due to inadvertence. See Index under 'Inadvertence.'

§ 12 **diutius obsessos**, 'if they were besieged any longer.'

laturos, *sc. eos*. Cf. c. 1. 11 n.

Samnites. Apparently those mentioned in § 4.

signa conferre, 'join battle'=*proelium committere*. Roman military language is full of expressions containing *signa*, *e.g. signa ferre*, c. 14. 5. Cf. c. 21. 4 n., 23. 13, and see Lat. Index under '*signum*.'

Chapter 14

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§ 1 **utrisque**, 'both sides'; see n. on c. 12. 5, and cf. *utros* and *alteris* in the next sentence. Probably dative, as often with *intervenio*, though it may be Abl. Abs.

Tarentini. The unwarlike inhabitants of the Greek city of Tarentum had lain low since the fiasco related in VIII. 27, when they vainly stirred up the Lucanians against the Romans.

per utros, relative, not interrog., and practically=*utroscumque* (cf. *qua*=*quacumque*, c. 3. 1).

stetisset=*factum esset*; cf. c. 5. 3 *per quem populum fiat*; it takes *quo minus* like ordinary words of preventing. *stetisset* corresponds to *steterit* (Fut. Perf.) in O. R.

§ 2 **ea legatione audita**. *leg.* prob. concrete (=*legatis*), not as in c. 4. 6.

perinde ac motus, an uncommon form of expression=*perinde ac si* (in Livy sometimes without *si*) *motus esset* (see c. 25. 9).

de re haud dubia, 'about a matter which admitted of no doubt.' There was no doubt that the battle must be fought.

§ 3 **divina humanaque.** *divina*, sacrifice and taking of the auspices; *humana*, the ordinary arrangements for the battle.

occursare, Histor. Infin.

§ 4 **auspicia...litatum.** Two methods of taking the auspices are here alluded to. The first is the watching of the sacred chickens, a favourite method on campaigns. The cage containing the chickens was opened and food was set before them; if they would not come out, or if they refused to eat or screeched or beat their wings, it was a bad omen: if they ate so greedily that some of the food fell from their mouths, it was a 'perfect' omen, *tripudium solistimum*. Another way of taking the auspices is alluded to by *litatum*, which refers to a favourable report by the haruspex after examining the entrails of a victim.

auctoribus dis, Abl. Abs. 'with the gods at our backs,' 'with the sanction of the gods.' See n. on c. 8. 12.

ad rem gerendam, 'to action.'

§ 5 **signa ferri iussit**, 'he gave the order to advance.' Cf. c. 23. 13, and see n. on c. 13. 12.

vanissimam, 'absurd,' 'unconscionable.'

suarum impotens rerum, 'unable to control its own affairs,' Objective Gen.; cf. c. 2. 11, c. 18. 1 (*intolerantior*).

prae, n. on c. 13. 1; quite regular here, as *impotens* contains a negative idea.

modum facere, 'set the bounds,' 'prescribe the limits of.'

§ 6 **ex parte altera.** See n. on *ab tergo*, c. 12. 10.

belli, the war, not only the prospective battle.

cum...conspexissent. Livy seems to have forgotten that he has already used a *cum*-clause in this sentence.

repente, to be taken with *conspexissent*.

§ 7 **vociferari**, Histor. Infin.

in auctoritate, 'at the direction,' 'in the hands.' The Tarentines should be the *auctores* of their conduct and should be followed. Cf. III. 21. 1 *tribuni se in auctoritate patrum futuros esse polliciti sunt*.

descendere, Pres. Infin. corresponding to *descendimus*, which, like the Eng. 'we are going,' is used to express intended action. This idiom, which is occasionally found in the best authors, is more expressive than a future. A curiously abrupt use is found in Lucan VII. 114, *Pugnatur*.

Descendere in aciem is frequently used as in the present passage; the Roman camps were, of course, very often on high ground.

ferat, corresponding to *feret* in Oratio Recta. Livy often (as Cicero regularly) uses the imperfect in such cases. See nn. on c. 6. 13, 7. 5.

potius...quam ut. The construction is similar to that in c. 36. 14; see n. on c. 9. 14; but *potius quam* is often found without *ut*, as in § 16, especially in Cicero. Livy seems to be the first to use *ut*, and even he does not use it after the first decade. *Prius quam* regularly dispenses with *ut*. For another constr. of *potius quam* see n. on § 15.

§ 8 **accipere se omen**, 'they accepted (welcomed, appropriated) the omen'; a regular phrase used when one seizes on a remark made by another and takes it to oneself as a favourable omen. The Samnites had spoken of bearing *quodcumque casus ferat*, without adding as much as an '*absit omen*' to prevent their ill-omened words from bringing their own fulfilment. The consuls seize on the favourable omen thus offered. [But how did the consuls know what the Samnites said?]

§ 9—§ 12. Note this masterly period, bringing before the reader a vivid series of pictures hurrying closely one upon another like the incidents they portray.

§ 9 **ipsi inter se** = the more regular *inter se ipsi*; *ipsi* makes a better beginning to the sentence than the other two words would. *Ipsi* is more idiomatic than *ipsos*; cf. c. 2. 14 n.

partitis, passive, as in V. 40. 8. *Partiti copias* would also be correct, as in c. 12. 9, 31. 1. See n. on *ulti*, c. 22. 9.

succedunt: in this sense the verb more commonly takes *ad* + acc. than the dat. The simple acc. is rare.

vellerent vallum, 'tore down the rampart.' Note the alliteration, and the use of the simple verb for the compound (*avello*), a usage frequent in Livy and in poetry; cf. x. 25. 7, '*vellite vallum*'... *vellentes vallum*. See Index under 'Simple verb.'

exulceratos ignominia, 'in which their disgrace rankled': *exulc.* is a very expressive word used metaphorically, and is so used in some passages of Cicero. *Ira* is obviously nom., like *virtus*; Lewis and Short's Dictionary (*s.v. exulcero*) is wrong in making it abl.

§ 10 **haec**: one might have expected *has*, 'attracted' to the gender of *furculas* (c. 2. 5 n.), but apart from the fact that there are several exceptions to the rule, the different genders of *furculas*, *Caudium*, and *saltus* make the neuter natural.

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errorem, *i.e. errantes*, which is not used, because it would not be parallel to *fraus*, and would impair the rhetorical antithesis. Note the force of *fraus*; they did not say that the Samnites vanquished them; it was a trick which did so.

§ 11 **inermes...servos...impubes...iumentaque.** Livy's rhetoric here carries him away; the town was not taken (§ 16), and there can hardly have been many *inermes* or *impubes* in the camp.

impubes, poet. = *impuberes* [Lut.].

§ 13 **interpellatam dulcedinem irae**, 'the interruption of their sweet revenge.' See n. on *expiationem spretam*, I. 4 n. *Dulcedo* is used in c. 38. 2 and in several other places in Livy.

miles...militum, a somewhat awkward repetition.

§ 14 **odio in hostes.** Cicero does not generally attach such a phrase directly to a noun except when it is enclosed between an attribute and the noun.

praepedisset, n. on c. 6. 4.

§ 15 **desperata venia**, 'despair of quarter'; cf. *interpellata dulcedo*, § 13.

perdere prius quam perire. When *potius* or *prius* accompanies a verb of will or desire which takes an infin., it may be followed by *quam* with another infinitive; this constr. is regular in Cicero and usual in Caesar, though they use the subjunctive in several passages. In Livy the subjunctive, especially with *ut*, becomes very frequent. Gildersleeve-Lodge § 644, R. 3 (*b*). See n. on § 7 above.

Optare rarely takes an infin. (instead of *ut* and subj.) in classical Latin.

Note the alliteration; cf. I. *Praef.* 12, *pereundi perdendique*.

§ 16 **laudare...laetari.** Note the alliteration, which recalls the line of Naevius:

Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

potius, quam proderetur, § 7 n. Note alliteration *patienda... potius...proderetur*.

iuventutis, concrete = *iuvenes*; cf. c. 25. 5, 36. 8; VIII. 27. 6. So also *nobilitas*, c. 26. 11 and 21. To each of these two cases English can furnish an obvious parallel.

Chapter 15

§ 1 **consilium,** 'council of war.' Cf. c. 3. 8 n.

omnibusne.... An indirect question depending on the notion of deliberation contained in *consilium* : 'a council of war..., to consider whether....'

For *omnibus copiis* see n. on *victore exercitu*, c. 13. 10; the abl. may be taken in either of the ways there mentioned.

premerent, 'press hard,' 'beset.' In Caes. *B. G.* VII. 32. 2 we have the fuller expression *obsidione premere.*

altero exercitu et duce: *exercitu* is Abl. of Instrument, but *duce* in such a use is irregular (see n. on c. 13. 10); it is brought into harmony with *altero exercitu* at the expense of grammatical regularity.

altero = 'one of the two' (*alterutro*).

Apuli circa, 'the Apulians around them,' 'the surrounding Apulians,' οἱ πέριξ Ἄπουλοι. Latin, not having like Greek a definite article between which and the noun an adverb may be placed, generally expresses such a meaning in a very different way, especially by a rel. clause, as *qui circa habitabant*, or by an adjective. But there are many instances where an author is content simply to attach the adverb to the noun, as in the present case. This use probably belonged to conversational speech. It is found in Plautus and Terence and often in Livy; cf. c. 23. 10, *circa omnia* (though there it is just possible to take *circa* with the verb); x. 33. 5, *circa insidiarum*. Cicero seems to fight shy of it, though he has a few instances. In Tacitus it is frequent. Less harsh are the instances where the adverb is enclosed between an adjective and a noun, as c. 2. 7, *montibus circa perpetuis*; cf. *his in vicem sermonibus*, c. 3. 4, *omnium circa populorum* c. 23. 13, *parvis cottidie damnis* c. 27. 6. (See Riemann, *Études*, p. 242 ff.)

ad id, 'up to that time.' Cf. III. 22. 8, etc. In c. 45. 2 *ad id locorum* has the same meaning.

voluntatis, 'leanings.'

§ 2 **peragrandam profectus.** Yet another alliteration with the letter P.

aliquot expeditione una populos. According to the natural usage *expeditione una* in such a position would qualify *populos*, but in reality it modifies *subegit* and *accepit*; such deviations from the natural Latin order are frequent in Livy, but often their reason is obvious. In this passage it would have been awkward to have *exp. un.* in juxta-position to the other ablative *vi*, which also modifies *accepit*. In § 10 we should

at first sight expect *ad eam aetatem* to be placed between *iustissimo* and *triumpho*, but *ad e. a.* can hardly be separated from *secundum Camillum*, and it would be inelegant in Latin to have all those words enclosed between an adjective and a noun.

§ 3 **obsessor Luceriae** = *obsessurus Luceriam*; cf. the use of nouns in *-tor*, c. 13. 2 n.

restiterat, 'had remained behind.'

ad spem eventus respondit. Cf. XXVIII. 6. 8.

insessis viis, probably by detachments left at various points by Publilius; see c. 13. 11.

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§ 4 **debuisse.** The O. R. would be *debuerunt*, not *debuissent*. See n. on c. 9. 12, and Index *s.v.* 'Indicative.'

§ 5 **quoniam ab hostibus in se...**, lit. 'since they chose that fair terms should be fixed by the enemy for them rather than themselves to propose it for themselves.' The use of the act. infin. *ferre* following on the pass. *statui* is clumsy. On *in se ipsi* see n. on c. 2. 14.

iussit. Note the introduction of this verb instead of continuing the O. O., as would have been usual.

multitudinem imbellem, c. 12. 6 n.

relinquerent, after *nuntiarent*. On the omission of *ut* see n. on c. 8. 9.

§ 7 **pignora pacis**, 'as pledges of peace.' Cf. XXXVI. 40. 4 *a quibus obsides abduxerit, pacis futurae pignus*.

Luceriam dederant, 'consigned to,' 'placed in Luceria': *dederant* is not from *do* = 'give' (though that verb may have slightly influenced the meaning), but from *do* = 'place,' a verb which is particularly common in compounds (*e.g. abdo* 'place away,' hence 'hide'), though not uncommon in its simple form in some expressions. (See the dictionaries, which, however, confuse the two uses.) *Do* in this sense came in on the analogy of compounds such as *abdo*, from √dhē, found in τί-θη-μι and *facio* (the meaning 'place,' 'set,' 'establish' easily passes into that of 'make' or 'cause'; cf. poet. phrases like *dare ruinam* 'to fall headlong,' lit. 'to make a headlong fall'). See also n. on c. 43. 15.

§ 8 **haud ferme alia.** 'Hardly any other': *alia* agrees with *victoria*, not with *mutatione*.

rerum, 'of fortune.'

clarior, 'more glorious': 'more famous' will not suit the next clause.

quod quibusdam in annalibus invenio. See Introd.

§ 9 **duce dedito...**, 'the surrender...of the general'; cf. c. 1. 4 n.

Lucius Cornelius, *i.e.* L. Cornelius Lentulus, c. 4. 7. His alleged dictatorship is confirmed by a notice in the *Fasti consulares*.

L. Papirio Cursore mag. eq. He would thus have been both consul and *magister equitum* in the same year. The *plebi scitum* mentioned in VII. 42. 2, *ne quis duos magistratus uno anno gereret*, would hardly apply to the *magisterium equitum*, but such a combination is very improbable, and the confusion in authorities for this part of the narrative was evidently so great that it is unsafe to believe that Papirius actually held both offices.

§ 10 **haud sciam an iustissimo...**, 'with a triumph which I should be inclined to consider as, next to that of Camillus, the most richly deserved up to that time.'

sciam is the subjunctive of mild assertion (c. 4. 12 n.). *Haud scio an* is more common: 'I am inclined to think.' This construction is elliptical: 'I do not know (whether something else is true) or (rather) ....' The use of *sciam* makes the statement still more diffident.

For the order of the words see n. on § 2, and for *secundum* n. on c. 29. 2.

The reference is to Camillus' second triumph, after his defeat of the Gauls (B.C. 390; n. on c. 4. 14); both he and Papirius avenged a signal disgrace to the Roman arms.

praecipuum seems to go with *Papiri* alone, the adjective in agreement with the noun being used instead of an adverb (*praecipue*): 'and of Papirius in particular.'

§ 11 **errorem**, 'going astray,' hence perplexity: tr. 'uncertainty.' But at the end of the section *erratum sit*='an error has been made.'

Cursor Papirius, *i.e.* Papirius Cursor. Such transpositions of *nomina* and *cognomina* are especially frequent in the Latin of the imperial age, but are found at least as early as Varro and Cicero (*Epist.*).

rem bene gestam Luceriae. In Cicero one would rather expect *rem Luceriae bene gestam*. See n. on § 2.

continuato magistratu. This would transgress a measure which accompanied that mentioned in the n. on *L. Papirio Cursore*, § 9: *ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem annos caperet*.

in cognomine: *in*='in the matter of,' as often. In point of fact *Mugilanus* seems to have been the surname of C. Papirius called *Cursor*; on the extra cognomen *Cursor* see c. 16. 13.

Chapter 16

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§ 1 **Convenit**, 'it is agreed.'

iam inde, 'from this point onwards'; cf. c. 17. 10 n. In contrast with the variation of the authorities as to the earlier part, there is a unanimous agreement that the remainder of the war was finished off by the consuls.

Frentanis. This people (north of Apulia) must, if the reading be correct, have risen against the Romans very suddenly. In c. 2. 6 and c. 13. 6 it is implied that they were friendly to Rome, and Livy makes no mention of a change in their attitude. For this and a few other reasons Luterbacher reads *Fregellanis* (see c. 12. 5 ff.). If we adopt this reading we must assume that the word refers to the Samnites who had occupied the town of Fregellae after its inhabitants had all either fled or met destruction (§ 8). But it is rather strange that Livy is not more explicit, especially as in the next sentence he goes into unnecessary detail as to the reason of the attack on Satricum, which is quite evident from c. 12. 5. Moreover the palaeographical probability of *Fregellanis* is not great. The best MSS. read *frentanis*, corrected' in P (second hand) and M (third hand) to *ferentanis*; later MSS. have *frequentariis*. Gronovius would read *Forentanis*, *i.e* the people of Forentum, the *humile Forentum* of Horace, *Carm.* III. 4. 16, *arvum pingue tenent humilis Forenti.* As Forentum was on the border of Apulia and Lucania, and as we may gather from c. 15. 2 that not all the inhabitants of Apulia had been subdued, the suggested reading is very probable. Perhaps, however, we ought to follow the correctors of P and M in reading *Ferentanis*; the spelling *Ferenti* is supported by some of the MSS. of Horace (*loc. cit.*), and may have been used in ancient times; variations in the spelling of place-names were not uncommon. Forentum or Ferentum seems to have risen in rebellion again, along with several Apulian towns (c. 20. 9). Very likely the *pingue arvum* was a temptation to the Romans on the present occasion, as provisions were evidently not very plentiful (cf. c. 13. 9), though the victory at Luceria doubtless improved matters to some extent. It may have been the desire to protect their rich crops which made the Forentani, or Ferentani, take the field. See Appendix I., p. 249.

debellavit. *de-* is intensive; 'finished the war with the F. in one successful battle.'

urbem ipsam, 'the city' of the Frentani was possibly called Frentrum, that of the Fregellani, of course, was Fregellae, that of the Forentani, Forentum.

§ 2 **defecerant,** c. 12. 5.

rem, 'campaign.'

§ 3 **pacem, precibus, petendam.** Note the alliteration.

triste, 'stern.'

remearent. This verb is rare in ante-Augustan prose.

§ 4 **exsecuntur quaerendo,** c. 3. 11 n.

ab iisdem...quibus auctoribus, 'from the very people at whose instigation....'

§ 5 **impetrato, ut...** Abl. Abs., the *ut*-clause taking the place of a noun in agreement.

se, *i.e.* Papirium; strictly it ought to refer to the ambassadors, but there is no real ambiguity here.

§ 6 **distinebant,** 'kept the senate divided'; *distendebant* (cf. c. 12. 10) would mean 'kept pulling asunder.' The imperf. denotes continuance; it was the continual state of the senate at this time. Cf. V. 20. 4, *duae senatum distinebant sententiae.*

una...altera = *altera...altera*; not uncommon.

fidelium, 'loyal,' *i.e.* to the Romans.

utrisque, 'both parties'; n. on c. 12. 5.

consuli, with *opera navaretur*: 'a service should be rendered.'

§ 7 **nihil satis praeparati,** c. 13. 3 n.

foret. It seems futile to attempt to draw any distinction in meaning between *forem* and *essem.* *Forem* is common in Plautus, but appears to be rarely found in Cicero and never in Caesar. Sallust and Nepos often employ it, and in Livy it is remarkably common as an auxiliary, though he, like others, seems to limit its use for the most part to Oratio Obliqua and kindred constructions (*e.g.* indirect questions), conditional sentences (c. 17. 2, 41. 4, 42. 6), and 'final' clauses. See Riemann, *Études*, pp. 226—233.

§ 8 **altera, quibus invitis...aperuerunt,** a somewhat violent instance of the so-called 'Construction according to the Sense' (*Constructio ad Sensum*, Gk κατὰ σύνεσιν): *quibus* is not in strict grammatical agreement with *altera* (*pars*) but with the plural notion contained therein. Very common in Livy is the construction which we have in *altera* (*pars*)...*aperuerunt*,—the simplest form of *Constructio ad Sensum*, which has many parallels in English. Though this usage is common in early Latin, Cicero with characteristic accuracy regularly employs the

strictly grammatical construction, except when the collective noun to which the verb belongs is in a different clause, *e.g.* *Off.* II. 12. 41 *cum premeretur inops multitudo..., ad unum aliquem confugiebant.* Caesar uses the *Constructio ad Sensum* with a little more freedom; Livy is very fond of it, and carries it to great lengths, as in the relative clause in the sentence under consideration; if he really wrote in I. 41. 1 *clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium quid rei esset,* he must be accused of taking unwarranted liberties with the idiom. [Riemann, *Études*, p. 256.] In the poets, with the notable exception of Horace, and in later prose writers the construction is common. See also n. on c. 13. 8.

§ 9 **circa viam** modifies *locis*.

necopinato, here the adverb. For the formation see n. on c. 12. 5.

oppressum est, 'was surprised'; c. 3. 1 n.

momento unius horae, 'in one brief hour'; abl. of 'time within which.' Cf. Curt. IX. 6. 22 (the same words); Liv. V. 7. 3, *horae momento*; Hor. *Sat.* I. 1. 7, *Horae momento cito mors venit. Momentum* sometimes = 'movement,' sometimes = what causes a motion, esp. what serves to turn the scale (c. 1. 11 n.). As applied to time it denotes a quick turning from one point to another; hence *momento temporis* (sometimes *momento* alone) = in the turning from one 'particle' of time to the next; hence 'in a moment'; the same meaning can be expressed by *puncto temporis*; cf. ἐν ἀτόμῳ, = in an indivisible particle of time (1 Cor. 15. 52, ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye').

Samnis, Satricanus, c. 1. 7 n. *Caes. Samnis, Satr. captus*, Chiasmus (c. 12. 4 n.). These words form one idea—the fate of the *people*; hence *et omnia...* does not transgress the rule that when three ideas are linked together *et* should be placed between the first and the second and again between the second and the third, or omitted altogether.

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§ 10 **quorum opera**, 'by whose action'; so *tua opera* = 'by your doing,' 'thanks to you.'

esset facta, subjunctive in indirect question depending on *quaestio*, or rather on the notion of 'enquiring' contained in the word. Cf. c. 15 init. *consilium...omnibusne....*

§ 11 **Inde**, with *decessisse*.

auctores sunt, 'are authorities for the statement that'; see c. 8. 12 n., c. 37. 11 n.

§ 12 **et,** 'and indeed.'

omni bellica laude, 'all the praise due to warlike achievements.'

§ 13 **praecipua pedum pernicitas...fuisse ferunt.** Note the repeated alliteration.

cognomen, *i.e.* the nickname *Cursor.* His original *cognomen* appears to have been Mugilanus (c. 15. 11 n.); because of his fleetness of foot he obtained, says Livy, the additional *cognomen* (or the *agnomen*, as the later grammarians would have termed it) of *Cursor.* But his grandfather (c. 34. 20) had the same surname.

dedit, sc. *ei,* which may have dropped out before *etiam.*

eundem, tr. 'also'; *idem* can often be translated in this way.

§ 14 **ad laborem,** n. on c. 12. 8 *incautus ad credendum.*

pro re bene gesta, 'for success in the field.'

§ 16 **quibus ille.** Sudden transition to Oratio Recta; there are several instances of this in Livy; c. 15. 5 is somewhat different.

utique. *utique* + a negative may sometimes be rendered 'by no means.' In c. 19. 15 *utique numquam* may be translated 'certainly never.'

dorsum, *i.e.* probably of the *equites*, not of the *equi*; the fact that *dorsum* is generally used in connexion with animals makes the words all the more contemptuous.

vis, viro...imperii ingens. More alliteration.

§ 17 **praetor.** The chief magistrate of the Latin town of Praeneste, which supplied a contingent of auxiliaries to the Roman army. He was also, on this occasion at least, in command of the Praenestine contingent, just as Rome's chief magistrates were legally, and as a rule (at this time) actually, her commanders in chief. See Mommsen, *R. H.* (Eng. trans.) vol. I., p. 440.

subsidiis, n. on c. 13. 3.

iussit, sc. Papirius. For the sudden change of subject cf. c. 3. 7 n.

§ 18 **ad,** n. on c. 2. 5.

perfusum, 'overwhelmed by,' 'plunged in,' a very expressive word.

metu multa...dicta dimisit. Once more note the alliteration.

multa. Abl. of the noun *multa*, of course.

§ 19 **nemo unus vir,** n. on c. 9. 16; *vir* might have been omitted, though the literary allusion (see end of next n.) would then have been impaired.

staret. The so-called 'Generic Subjunctive,' denoting a class or

kind; a branch of the Consecutive Subjunctive. In such a use *qui* with subj. = 'of such a kind as to,' 'of the class which....' This subj. is generally preferred to the indicative in sentences where the really important verb is put in the relative clause, *e.g.* 'There is no one who thinks this,' *nemo est qui hoc putet* (not *putat*); lit. 'there is no one such as to think (of the kind that thinks) this.' So in the present instance; tr.: 'there was no one man, on whom the Roman commonwealth depended more for its stability,' or perhaps rather, as the diction has a poetical tinge, 'there was no one man on whom the commonwealth leaned more and thus stood firm.'

For the diction cf. VI. 1. 4, *quo adminiculo erecta erat* (*urbs*), *eodem innixa, M. Furio principe, stetit.* The combination of *vir...res Romana staret* was very likely suggested by the well-known line of Ennius:

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.

Compare also VIII. 7. 16 *disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res.* For Livy's literary allusions see n. on c. 19. 17.

quin, 'nay,' a frequent use of the word; often *quin etiam*, 'nay more.'

eum parem destinant, etc., 'People regard him [lit. 'mark him out in (with) their minds'] as a man who would have been a match for Alexander the Great in generalship, if that prince had turned his arms toward Europe after crushing Asia.'

This translation will show the real meaning of the concise expression *parem...si...vertisset.* The thought which men had was *par fuisset, si Alexander...vertisset.*

magno, before the proper name, as usual in Livy when this epithet is used to distinguish one man from others of the same name. (Lut., who compares c. 17. 6, VIII. 3. 7 and 24. 17; XXIV. 41. 3, etc.) *Magnus* is a stock epithet applied to a few men, esp. Alexander and Pompey; except in such cases Latin generally avoids attaching an adjective directly to the name of a person; thus 'the famous Caesar' is not *clarus Caesar* but *Caesar, vir clar*(*issim*)*us.*

Chapter 17

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On the digression in cc. 17—19, see Appendix II., pp. 256 ff.

§ 1 **plus iusto**, 'unduly.'

ordine rerum, 'the course of the narrative'; *rerum* = the events recorded in the history.

declinarem, 'swerve.'

varietatibus distinguendo opere. *Distinguere* = 'to set off,' 'trick out,' 'diversify,' like gems in a crown, flowers in a meadow, stars in the heavens, etc.; cf. c. 19. 8, where *distinctus* is used with reference to the *quincunx* arrangement of an army. The dictionaries (*e.g.* Lewis-Short II. B) supply plenty of examples of the metaphorical sense of the word; it is sometimes combined with *variare*, as here with *varietatibus*. Livy was certainly *tenax propositi*, avoiding digressions which did not have a direct bearing on the scheme of his work.

legentibus deverticula...requiem animo. Chiasmus (c. 12. 4 n.). For the metaphor modified by *velut* see note on c. 2. 10.

deverticula, 'by-paths.' The metaphors in this sentence are rather mixed.

quaererem. Clumsy, depending on *quaesitum est*; see Eng. Index under 'Inadvertence.' To make matters worse, *quaerere* occurs in the next sentence. The repetition *operis...opere* may have been inserted knowingly; it is not against Latin usage.

§ 2 **quibus...cogitationibus...eas** = *eas cogitationes tacitas quibus*; cf. c. 11. 3 *cum qua potes fide*, and n.

volutavi animum. See Appendix on the Text. The usual phrase is *volutare rem in animo*, and the like, 'to revolve a thing in one's mind'; but here the object is not the thing thought of, but the mind itself, and the variation has a certain effectiveness; 'I have set my mind awhirl,' as it were. Colloquial Eng. has several phrases which might be compared with this, *e.g.* 'to rack' or 'to cudgel the brains.' Tr.: 'prompts me to give public expression to the secret thoughts which have often exercised my mind.'

in medium, 'into the midst,' *i.e.* before the public; a common meaning.

ut, 'so that.'

Romanis rebus, 'the fortunes of Rome.'

futurus fuerit. Cf. c. 33. 7. When the apodosis of an 'unreal' past condition is put into a dependent clause which itself requires the subjunctive, it would be awkward, and sometimes misleading, to retain the pluperf. subjunctive. Thus here *quinam eventus fuisset* would naturally mean 'what result had been.' To avoid this difficulty Latin employs the Future Participle in *-urus*. In a direct question, *qui eventus futurus fuit?* would mean, 'What result was sure-to-be?' *i.e.* 'What result would have been?' (Cf. XXI. 44. 4, *deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt*, 'they would have inflicted extreme

tortures on the surrendered.') When made subordinate to *quaerere*, this naturally becomes *qui eventus futurus fuerit*. This device is frequent also in consecutive clauses, including clauses with *quin*, and in c. 18. 7 we have it even with *ne*. Perhaps it is owing to the influence of consecutive clauses that even after a historic governing verb *fuerim* (not *essem*) is regularly used. [*Potui* used in an apodosis, ='I could have' (n. on c. 12. 2), becomes *potuerit*; see c. 18. 6.] In the passive, where there is no Future Part. available, Latin has to be content with a *pis aller*; thus 'I inquire who would have been conquered' is generally expressed by *quaero quis vinci potuerit*, or *vincendus fuerit*. **-nam** strengthens the interrogative.

foret, c. 16. 7 n.

§ 3 **In bēllō pōllērĕ vĭdēntŭr.** These words might form the latter half of a hexameter. See n. on c. 1. 9.

fortuna, 'luck.' W.-M. compare Caesar *B. G.* VI. 30. 2: *multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna*. One is tempted to imagine that the present passage contains a reminiscence of these words. With *maxime potens* and *plurimum pollere* compare Caesar's *multum potest*, and with *res bellicas* his *re militari*.

per omnia humana, maxime in res bellicas, 'in all the details of human life, but especially for warlike operations.' Note once more the expressiveness of the neut. plur. of an adj. The adversative asyndeton heightens the contrast, and increases the emphasis on *maxime*. Greek would have used μέν and δέ (c. 1. 11 n.).

§ 4 **intuenti** may be taken as 'Dative of the Person Judging' (*New Latin Primer* § 138, p. 80), which is particularly common with a Present Participle (*ib.* § 310, p. 154); but more probably it goes with *praestant*, 'guarantee.'

Tr.: 'To one who looks at these points both individually and collectively, they readily furnish an assurance that the power of Rome would not have yielded to him, any more than to other kings and other nations.'

ea is subject to *praestant*, but *ea* in the accusative is also 'understood' as object to *intuenti*.

On *praesto* = 'guarantee,' see n. on c. 9. 18.

aliis = *ceteris*; c. 3. 11 n.

invictum contains the notion of an apodosis, like *parem*; c. 16. 19 n.

§ 5 **iam primum**, 'Now in the first place.' These words are used by Livy when passing from an introduction (*e.g.* the *Praefatio* of Bk I.)

to a more detailed treatment, whether argument or narrative. Somewhat similar is the use in c. 5. 12.

ut...ordiar: n. on *ne...censeatis*, c. 1. 3.

ab ducibus comparandis, cf. c. 26. 4, 32. 1. *Ab*, *de*, *ex* and *in* are the prepositions most commonly found with the abl. of a gerund or gerundive. Others are rare. For prepositions governing the accus. of a gerund or gerundive see n. on c. 11. 6.

unus, so that he got all the glory, in contrast to the two consuls, who often had to share it with one another, if not also with a dictator. Moreover as Alexander was monarch his power lasted for life, not for one year, like that of the consuls.

in incremento rerum, 'when his prosperity was still on the increase,' 'when his star was in the ascendant,' 'in the flood-tide (full flow) of his prosperity'; lit. 'during the augmentation of his fortunes.' Livy implies that the flow of prosperity must sooner or later have been followed by the ebb if Alexander had lived longer.

nondum...expertus, 'before he had time to experience.'

alteram, not *aliam*: 'the opposite.'

§ 6 **ut...omittam.** Cf. *ut...ordiar*, § 5.

Cyrum, the Elder, founder of the Persian Empire, who after a career of conquest was defeated and slain by the Massagetae, a Scythian people, B.C. 529.

Graeci, *e.g.* Herodotus (Book I.) and Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*).

Magnum Pompeium, n. on c. 16. 19, *Magno Alexandro*. Pompey was dubbed *Magnus* by Sulla in 81 B.C., when the young man of twenty-four returned from his victories over Cn. Domitius and Hiarbas in Africa. He used the surname throughout his life, and transmitted it to his children.

vertenti, n. on *mutaverant*, c. 12. 3.

§ 7 **recenseam.** Deliberative Subjunctive: 'Shall I pass in review...?'

Alexandro fuit bellandum, 'Alexander would have had to fight.' See n. on *difficile fuit* c. 9. 12, and also Eng. Index under 'Indicative.'

§ 8 **M. Valerium Corvum.** The story about his single combat with a Gaul, in which he was helped by a raven (*corvus*), thus obtaining his surname, is told by Livy VII. 26. 1—5. He is said to have inflicted two signal defeats on the Samnites at Mount Gaurus and Suessula, B.C. 343. He was consul six times. See n. on c. 7. 14.

C. Marcium Rutilum. Probably not the C. Marcius Rutilus of this book (c. 33, etc.), but the conqueror of the Privernates, B.C. 357 (Liv. VII. 16. 3—6), and of the Etruscans (VII. 17. 6—9). He was

four times consul, and is notable as being the first plebeian to hold the dictatorship (B.C. 356, Liv. *ib.* § 6) and the censorship (351, Liv. VII. 22. 7—10).

C. Sulpicium, VIII. 15. 1, and in this book 24. 1, 27. 8. His surname was Longus.

T. Manlium Torquatum. Everyone knows the stories of his combat with the Gaul and of his execution of his son. Manlius was a type of the stern old Roman. He was the colleague of Publius Decius Mus (c. 4. 10 n.) at the battle of Vesuvius, where the Latins were decisively defeated.

Q. Publilium Philonem, c. 7. 15 n.

Q. Fabium Maximum. This man, the *interrex* of c. 9. 7, whose name bulks largely in the remainder of the book, very nearly cut short his career when *magister equitum* by fighting against the Samnites in defiance of the dictator's orders (VIII. 30 ff.), but he escaped, and afterwards did great deeds for his country. He was the colleague of the younger Decius at the battle of Sentinum when Decius, following the example set by his father at the battle of Vesuvius, devoted himself to death to gain victory for the Roman arms.

L. Volumnium, c. 42. 2. He was twice consul.

M'. Curium. M'. (*i.e.* Manius) Curius Dentatus was a very distinguished general, who ended the Third Samnite War when consul in 290 B.C. and in the year 275 gained a decisive victory over the invader Pyrrhus of Epirus at Beneventum. He and the younger Decius could not have met Alexander unless he had lived to a considerable age, so they really come under the category of the generals alluded to in the next sentence.

§ 9 **deinceps,** 'immediately after'; but in § 11 it probably means 'in succession.'

si...praevertisset bellum. This protasis belongs, not to *sequuntur*, but to [*cum quibus*] *fuit bellandum* understood from the previous sentence.

Tr.: 'if he had chosen to engage in a Carthaginian war before his contest with Rome.'

Towards the end of his life Alexander, it was said, planned to subdue Arabia and then to proceed to the conquest of Carthage, Italy, and the west.

senior = 'advanced in years'; lit. 'rather old.' The comparative often has this sense. In poetry *senior*, being metrically more convenient, becomes a mere substitute for *senex*.

§ 10 **indoles animi ingeniique**, 'endowment (gifts) of spirit and talent.' See c. 4. 9 n., 6. 12.

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disciplina, 'training.'

iam inde ab initiis, 'from the very beginnings,' lit. 'already from the beginnings thenceforth.' Cf. XXVI. 19. 5 *iam inde ab initio.*

tradita per manus, 'transmitted from one hand to another,' 'handed down from generation to generation.' Cf. I. 3. 9 *Aventino ...regnum per manus tradidit*, 'he handed on the sovereignty to A.' So XXIX. 14. 13.

in artis etc., 'had attained to the character of a science built up from an ever-increasing mass of precepts.' Experience had been continually adding new lessons in military affairs; thus precept after precept was added to the instruction of the budding generals, until the whole body of instruction reached the dignity of a systematic science.

§ 11 **Iunii Valeriique**, 'our Iunii and Valerii,' 'men of the stamp of Junius (*i.e.* M. Iunius Brutus) and Valerius (*i.e.* P. Valerius Poplicola or Publicola).' English has a similar use of the plural of personal names. The following plurals are used in the ordinary sense.

Fabii. In each of the seven years 485—479 a Fabius was consul, and the Decemvir Q. Fabius Vibulanus had as consul conducted important wars in the years 467, 465, 459 [Lut.]. See Classical Dictionary under 'Fabia Gens.'

Quinctii. T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus was one of Livy's heroes, a popular general and a peacemaker (Books II. and III. *passim*). Another famous Quinctius was C. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the man who was summoned from the plough to the dictatorship and sent the Aequians under the yoke (III. 26—28). He had three sons who rose to eminence.

Cornelii, especially Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who won the *spolia opima* by slaying Lar Tolumnius, king of Veii (IV. 19. 5).

iuvenes, 'in their youth.'

dimicandum erat; cf. *fuit bellandum* § 7 fin.; *fuit* referred to the *fact* of the necessity, *erat* lays stress on its continuance.

§ 12 **militaria...**, 'when he took upon himself a soldier's duties by fighting in person.'

Militaria = militis. See n. on c. 2. 9.

haud minus, *i.e.* than his generalship (than the facts that he stood alone and that he died young, says Luterbacher, with less probability).

videlicet, 'of course,' 'forsooth'; ironical. *Scilicet* is used in the same way.

in acie oblatus par, 'if matched with him on the battle-field'; *par* is often used of a fighter, in the sense of 'matched with,' 'opposed to.'

§ 13 **devotis**, c. 4. 10 n., 10. 3.

illo corporis robore, 'that bodily strength of his.' Cf. c. 16. 12, and for *ille* c. 8. 2 n. *Ille* often = 'the well-known' (c. 6. 12), but here, as in c. 8. 2, it has a more expressive meaning.

§ 14 **ne singulos nominem**; cf. the use of *ut* in §§ 5 and 6.

qui ex regibus constare dixit, *i.e.* Cineas, the envoy of Pyrrhus.

unus, not 'alone,' but 'above all others.' Thus *unus* is often used to strengthen superlatives, *unus fortissimus* 'the very bravest,' etc.

veram speciem...cepit, 'grasped a true conception of...'

§ 15 **id erat periculum**, cf. c. 18. 6.

vero, ironical, as in c. 18. 6.

castris locum capere. A regular phrase in this meaning; *castris* is dat. of purpose; cf. another military phrase *signum receptui canere* 'to sound the signal for retreat.' In *tempus pugnae deligeret* near the end of the sentence, *pugnae* may be either gen. or dat.

subsidiis, 'reserves'; n. on c. 13. 3.

§ 16 **non cum Dareo rem esse**, 'that he had not to deal with D.' *Non* goes closely with *cum Dareo*; otherwise *negasset* would have been preferred to *non...dixisset.*

Dareo. Dareus (or Darius) III., the last king of Persia, was finally and decisively defeated by Alexander in the plains of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. (the so-called battle of Arbela). Alexander thus became master of Asia.

The Roman experience of eastern nations tallied to a large extent with Livy's picture. Antiochus and his vast hordes, so much dreaded beforehand, had proved an easy prey (*praeda verius quam hostis*) to Gnaeus Scipio, and the terrifying illusion disappeared. The Parthians, however, were made of different stuff, as the Romans found to their cost.

verius, 'more strictly.'

fortunae apparatibus suae, 'the sumptuous appointments of his station.'

nihil aliud quam, properly 'doing nothing else than....' This elliptical use is found in Greek with οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ.

bene ausus vana contemnere. These words inevitably suggest a poetical origin, which may be the source also of Vergil's famous *Aude, hospes, contemnere opes* (*Aen.* 8. 364). Possibly the original line ended with the words *bene opes ausus contemnere vanas*, 'happily daring to think lightly of empty wealth.'

§ 17 **comisabundus.** While in India Alexander, it is said, made a triumphal progress like a second Bacchus. The doorways of the villages through which he passed displayed a profusion of flowers and bowls of wine. He in a chariot and his army (*comisabundus exercitus*, Curt. IX. 10. 26) in huge vehicles advanced to the music of flute and lyre.

Livy is the first author to use the word *comisabundus*. Words in *-bundus* (*e.g. contionabundus, populabundus*) are fairly frequent in his history, but rare in literary Latin. In dealing with the occurrence to which Livy is here alluding, Curtius, the biographer of Alexander, uses both *comisabundus* and *bacchabundus*.

Comisari (sometimes spelt *comissari*) = *κωμάζειν*.

habitus, 'aspect' (Stephenson).

Apuliae...Lucanos. Note the variation. Livy appears never to use the word *Lucania*. For 'in Lucania' he uses *in Lucanis* (c. 19. 3), for 'into Lucania,' *in Lucanos* (c. 20. 9, VIII. 17. 9).

domesticae cladis, 'a disaster to his own family.'

Alexander, c. 19. 11.

Chapter 18

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§ 1 **et**, c. 16. 12 n.

merso secundis rebus, 'engulfed in prosperity,' 'overwhelmed by prosperity.' *secundis rebus* may be abl. of instrument or of 'place where' (c. 11. 5 n.).

quarum nemo intolerantior fuit, 'which no one was ever less fit to bear.' Cf. X. 28. 4 *corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus*.

§ 2 **habitu novae fortunae novique...ingenii.** Perhaps best taken as an instance of Hendiadys (*ἓν διὰ δυοῖν*, one complex idea brought out by means of two co-ordinate expressions): 'the character of the new nature, if I may so term it, engendered by his new fortune.'

For *ut ita dicam* see n. on c. 1. 3, *ne...censeatis*.

§ 3 **venisset.** A concise expression. Livy means, 'If he were judged by...it would appear that he would have come....'

degenerantem, c. 34. 15; *in Persarum mores* goes with this verb, of course, not with *adduxisset* (Chiasmus; see c. 12. 4 n. and Eng. Index *s.v.*).

§ 4 **in**, 'in the case of,' a frequent use of the word.

desideratas...adulationes, c. 1. 4 n.

humi iacentium adulationes. Eastern obeisances, προσκυνήσεις, like the Chinese kow-tow. Cf. Curt. VIII. 5. 6: *volebat...more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora.*

etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus, 'which would have been irksome to the Macedonians if they had been conquered, but was much more so when they were conquerors.'

Livy uses *nedum* several times in positive sentences, with or without a subjunctive. In Cicero it is confined to negative sentences and regularly takes a subjunctive after it; it has then to be translated 'much less.' The origin of these constructions is not very clear.

foeda supplicia, *e.g.* those of Philotas and of his father Parmenio, Alexander's most trusted general. Philotas was accused, apparently without foundation, of being a party to a plot against Alexander's life, and, having made a confession under torture, was stoned to death. In the agony of torture he named his father as an accomplice, and Parmenio also was executed. Other instances of *foeda supplicia* were those of Clitus and Callisthenes.

inter vinum et epulas caedes amicorum. Even Cicero has a similar construction in *Phil.* IV. 5. 11, *ante oculos trucidatio civium*, though there the palpably verbal character of the noun makes the construction easier.

vanitatem ementiendae stirpis, 'his futile lie about his origin,' lit. 'the futility of (consisting in) fabricating a descent.' Alexander claimed to be a son of Zeus.

§ 5 **quid, si...**, c. 3. 11, 9. 6.

in dies fieret acrior, 'had grown more intense from day to day.' *fieret*, not *factum esset*, to express the continued progress. *In dies* is used for 'every day' when there is a notion of change, as in this passage; otherwise *cottidie* is nearly always employed.

ira, sc. *fieret acrior.*

ducimus? 'do we consider?'

§ 6 **id vero periculum erat...ne**, c. 17. 15.

levissimi ex Graecis, 'the most superficial of the Greeks.'

The Greeks of the last two centuries B.C. were not as the heroes

of old. Fickle, often effeminate, disunited, but combining in confederacies which were ever changing their composition, *gens lingua magis strenua quam factis* (VIII. 22. 8)—such were the Greeks as they presented themselves to Livy's view. Under the Empire, and even before it, they came to Rome in large numbers, and Juvenal complains bitterly of their insinuating ways, which, combined with undoubted cleverness, enabled them to oust deserving Romans from the favour of their patrons.

Levis is the opposite of *gravis*. *Gravitas*, that untranslatable word which connotes dignity, constancy, and unflinching integrity, expresses the ideal Roman character. Weissenborn thinks that Livy may be alluding to the Greek historian Timagenes, who showed marked enmity towards Augustus in particular and the Romans in general.

In B.C. 23 the Parthians sent ambassadors to Rome requesting the Senate to settle their internal disputes. In B.C. 20 the Roman standards captured from the armies of Crassus and Antony were restored,—a fact which the court poets are never tired of mentioning, and which seems to have caused a feeling of great relief at Rome, as showing not only that a great disgrace was retrieved but also that the Parthians had ceased from troubling. Livy probably wrote this passage before those events, else he would almost certainly have mentioned one of them or both.

nomen Romanum, 'the reputation of Rome,' corresponding to *Parthorum gloriae*. Contrast *Latini nominis*, c. 19. 2 n.

illis, *i.e. Romanis*. It was said that the Romans sent ambassadors to Alexander and he to them, but this is doubtful.

potuerit: *posset* might have been expected after *ne* (cf. c. 17. 15), but we have here an apodosis in the *ne*-clause (an unusual occurrence), and, as was mentioned in the n. on *futurus fuerit*, c. 17. 2, *potuerim* is regular in an apodosis inserted in a clause which requires the subjunctive for another reason.

§ 7 **Athenis, in civitate.** The preposition is regular in such a case. *Athenis*, *civitate* would be incorrect.

adversus quem..., goes with *adversus eum* below.

tum maxime, 'even then,' 'at that very time.'

prope, adv., not preposition.

libere, 'freely,' 'boldly,' μετὰ παρρησίας, a common meaning of the word; cf. *liberam* at the end of the sentence; similarly *libertas* is used = παρρησία.

homines, especially Demosthenes.

proceribus, a poetical word, used by Livy only in the first decade.

missurus fuerit, n. on c. 17. 2.

§ 8 **plus.** *Plus* and *amplius* are very often used with numerals without affecting the case.

§ 9 **eo...quod**, c. 2. 4 n.

populus...victus sit. These words are evidently a reminiscence of Lucilius (613 f. Marx):

Romanus populus victus vi et superatus proeliis
saepe est multis, bello vero numquam.

victus sit, Alexandro.... Another instance of adversative Asyndeton.

hominis, et eius iuvenis, 'of a man, and a young man too,' lit. 'and him a young man.' This is a frequent use of expressions such as *et is*, *isque*.

iam octingentesimum bellantis annum, 'in the eighth century of its military career,' 'which has seen eight centuries of warfare.' The accusative of duration of time with an ordinal numeral is not logically correct, but is quite regular in Latin; Greek uses a cardinal numeral with the plur. of οὗτος in agreement, *e.g.* ταῦτα ὀκτακόσια ἔτη. For the present *bellantis* see n. on c. 3. 2. The translation gives Livy's probable meaning. If he meant to say that Rome had been at war for 800 years, he is consciously exaggerating or speaking in very round numbers, as the traditional date of the foundation of Rome was B.C. 753. Latin has no exact equivalent for 'century.' *Saecula* would rather mean 'generations,' as in § 10.

§ 10 **miremur.** 'Dubitative' or 'Deliberative' Subj.

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ex hac parte...ex illa, 'on the one side...on the other'; n. on c. 14. 6.

saecula, 'generations' of 33 years. Alexander's time was thirty '*saecula*' after the foundation of Rome. He was thirty-two at the time of his death, so Livy exaggerates very slightly.

variaverit, intrans., as usual in Livy.

§ 11 **quin tu....** For *quin* see n. on c. 10. 7. *tu*, *i.e.* an imaginary reader; cf. c. 9. 6, c. 34. 12. *cum homine*=*cum hominis fortuna*; similarly *cum duce*. This is a sort of *Comparatio Compendiaria* (c. 10. 3 n.).

§ 12 **nominem.** This may be regarded as a Deliberative Subjunctive ('How many...am I to name?') used rhetorically, as Livy does not

mean to enumerate any. It may also be regarded as the apodosis of a conditional sentence with protasis suppressed, in which case it would be better to end the sentence with a point of interjection: 'How many ...I should name (if I began to make a list)!'

annalibus magistratuum fastisque. By *annales* ('year-books') *magistratuum* Livy means the *libri lintei*, official lists of magistrates written on linen and preserved in the temple of Iuno Moneta. Livy never consulted these books, though he got some second-hand knowledge of their contents from certain annalists. 'In prose writers *fasti* is commonly employed for the registers of consuls, dictators, censors, and other magistrates, which formed part of the public archives' (Dict. Ant.). Some fragments of such *fasti*, known as *Fasti Capitolini* because now preserved in the Capitol, were discovered in the Forum in 1547 A.D. See Notes on the Text. *Pagina* is used of inscribed slabs or tablets as well as written leaves.

consulum dictatorumque, 'Constituent Gen.,' with *paginas*.

quorum nec...populum Romanum paenituit, 'whose valour and whose fortune never caused the Roman people a single day's regret.'

§ 13 **quo sint mirabiliores,** 'to make them more wonderful,' 'as if to make them more wonderful.' The short tenure of office is spoken of as if designed to make the illustrious Romans more marvellous. English often uses a similar idiom.

annum, without *unum*, as often, *e.g.* c. 29. 10, 34. 1, II. 7. 4.

denos vicenosque dies. A dictator was elected for six months (cf. c. 34. 12, *semestri dictatura*), but was relieved of his office on the completion of the special task for which he had been chosen. Cincinnatus is said to have held the office for only sixteen days, so quickly did he finish the campaign against the Aequi. The dictatorship of Quintus Servilius lasted only eight days (IV. 47. 6).

§ 15 **in ipso conatu rerum,** 'in the midst of their undertakings.'

circumegit se, a poetical expression, found frequently in Livy, but before him only in Lucretius (W.-M.). Cf. c. 22. 1, 33. 4.

male gestis rebus, 'mismanaged enterprises.'

tironem exercitum, cf. *victorem exercitum*, etc. *Tiro* in this adjectival use is not uncommon.

§ 16 **domini rerum temporumque,** 'masters of times and circumstances.' W.-M. compare Demosthenes, *Olynth.* I. 4: *τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐκεῖνον ἕνα ὄντα κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἅμα στρατηγὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ταμίαν*; Tac. *Ann.* II. 73, *solus arbiter rerum.*

§ 17 **fortunae pignora,** 'guarantees of success.' Alexander and the Romans had equally good grounds for expecting victory.

in discrimen detulisset, 'would have brought to the testing point,' 'put to the risk.'

§ 18 **obnoxium,** 'liable to.' For somewhat different uses see c. 5. 8, c. 10. 4.

offerentem se, 'placing himself in their way'; cf. c. 17. 12. In attacking a town of the Malli, an Indian people, Alexander was the first to scale the wall, and was severely wounded.

§ 19 **vel...vel.** Tr.: 'whether...or.'

rerum = *rerum gestarum.*

suo fato, 'by (according to) his own particular destiny,' *i.e.* 'as his own destiny ordained.'

publico discrimine, *i.e.* danger to the people as a whole.

viveret morereturque, most probably subjunctive by 'attraction' to the mood of the other verbs in the sentence (cf. c. 11. 13 n.), not, as W.-M. and Lut. suppose, 'potential' subjunctives. They may, however, be 'generic' (c. 16. 19 n.).

Chapter 19

§ 1 **vel...vel,** c. 18. 19 n.

auxiliorum. The 'auxiliaries' in Alexander's army consisted of mercenaries from other countries; in the case of the Romans they were the contingents furnished by the Latin cities, which were attached to the Roman legions and fought on the wings. Most of the cavalry was supplied by the Latin allies. *Auxilia* in the sense of foreign mercenaries do not seem to have been employed by the Romans before the Punic Wars, and even then only sparingly; but the eastern wars added greatly to their number.

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§ 2 **lustris,** abl. of time without an attribute, like *comitiis* and some other words, especially common expressions like *nocte*, *die*, *aestate*, *hieme.*

omni defectione sociorum, 'the general revolt of the allies,' 'the revolt of all the allies'; apparently a case of transferred epithet (Hypallage), = *omnium d. sociorum.* Livy is rather fond of this figure, though the present instance is not only rather unnatural but ambiguous.

In omni defectione might also mean 'in every revolt,' but Livy is dealing with the state of matters in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

sociorum Latini nominis, 'the Latin allies.' *Nomen* is often used with an adjective of nationality (especially *Latinum*) to signify 'all who bear the (Latin, etc.) name, 'the Latin nation,' etc.

In later times the *nomen Latinum*, including the Latin cities and the *coloniae Latinae*, was often distinguished from the other Italian allies (*socii*); thus we find such phrases as *socii ac nominis Latini* (Cic. *Rep.* I. 19. 31); cf. *socii et Latium* (Sall. *Hist.* I. 17).

decem legiones, n. on c. 4. 11.

urbano prope dilectu, 'by a levy derived almost entirely from the city.'

scribebantur, 'were regularly enrolled.'

§ 3 **saepe**. Livy here exaggerates; at least his own history does not bear out the statement about the frequency of four and five armies.

in Lucanis, n. on c. 17. 17. The first appearance of a Roman army in Lucania recorded by Livy (B.C. 317) is mentioned in c. 20. 9, the next (296) in X. 18. 8 (Lut.).

§ 4 **a Thuriis**. This reading, if correct, shows an almost inexplicable ignorance on Livy's part. Thurii was not on the *inferum mare* (sometimes called *Tyrrhenum m.*, the Tuscan Sea) but on the *superum mare* (Adriatic, c. 2. 6); moreover the Romans had up to this point had very little contact with the Greek colonies on the east coast of Italy. Gronovius suggested *a Bruttiis*, but that conjecture does not account for the corruption. It seems possible that *Thuriis* is a corruption of *Tyrrheni* or *Turrheni* (perhaps misspelt *Thureni*), the note of an old commentator to explain *inferi maris*. If this were incorporated in the text and miscopied as *Thurii*, the remaining changes would soon follow. This chapter seems to be unusually full of interpolations due to the incorporation of marginal or interlinear glosses. Thus in this very section after *tenus* the codices M, P and U add *Samnites*, which is perhaps due to some annotator who had, or imagined he had, *hostibus* in his text instead of *Ostiis* (*hostiis* is read in some known MSS.). Perhaps it was the same commentator who added *id est hastae* after *sarisae* in § 7, though Moritz Müller thinks that Livy may there have written something like *id est genus hastae*. It seems likely, however, that Livy actually wrote *a Thuriis*; see Appendix II., p. 257.

Antio atque Ostiis, rather loosely added, as these were not Greek colonies. *Ostia*, fem. sing., not neut. plur., is the usual form.

§ 5 **hoc roboris erat**, lit. 'there was this of *robur*,' *i.e.* 'these formed the strength (flower) of his army.' *Robur* in this meaning is common; it is sometimes combined with *flos*.

traheret, 'he would have been continually dragging about'; such is the force of the imperfect.

§ 6 **adde, quod.** Found also in Lucretius; Livy seems to be the first prose writer to use it (W.-M.). The words are addressed to an imaginary reader (cf. c. 18. 11, *quin tu...*) or hearer (App. II., pp. 256 ff.), and are more lively than the ordinary *huc accedit quod*. The immediate repetition of the word *quod* in a different sense (*quod...accidit*) is not foreign to Latin usage.

ad manum esset, 'would have been ready to hand,' if they had required it.

Alexandro. Dative of the 'person affected'; see nn. on c. 5. 11, c. 12. 1.

§ 7 **clipei.** *Clipeus*, or *clupeus*, = ἀσπίς, a round metal shield, in the Macedonian army about two feet in diameter. It was fastened on the arm, as both hands were required to wield the *sarisa* (see next note). See Notes on the Text.

sarisae. The *sarisa* (σάρισα) is said to have been 14 cubits (21 feet) in length, and was held so as to project about fifteen feet in front of the wielder. In the Macedonian *phalanx* the men in the same rank were separated from one another by an interval of three feet and from those immediately behind by an interval of two feet. The *sarisae* of the second rank thus projected about thirteen feet before the front rank, those of the third rank about eleven feet, and so on to the fifth rank, whose spears projected about three feet in front. The remaining eleven ranks (for the *phalanx* was generally drawn up sixteen deep) held their spears slanting upwards as a protection against missiles until they were required for the combat. As long as the *phalanx* kept together, the force of such a compact mass of cold steel was irresistible, but when it became disorganised, it could do very little, as the Romans found in their wars against the Macedonians more than a century after Alexander's death. The Roman manipular arrangement (see § 8) allowed rapid evolutions and manœuvres. In the earliest times the Romans seem to have fought in a compact *phalanx* (not, of course, the same as the Macedonian *phalanx*). The adoption of the more open arrangement by maniples seems to date from the time of Camillus, and to have been necessitated by the truly Celtic rush with which the Gauls opened their battles. The Samnite wars introduced new improvements, and the war with Pyrrhus perfected the new arrangement. Livy, however, attributes to the time of Alexander the weapons and tactics of later times. It is practically certain that the *sarisa* of Alexander's armies was of moderate length, and the phalanx,

so far from being the whole or even the main fighting force, was used to draw the whole attack of the enemy while the cavalry, and sometimes the lighter troops and archers, won the battle.

illis, sc. *erat*, not *esset*.

scutum, a form of shield said to have been borrowed by the Romans from the Samnites. It was four-cornered, often like a half-cylinder in shape, and was made of wood covered with leather and lined round the edges with iron. It formed an effective protection for the whole body; it could obviously be made longer than a round shield, especially one which had to be carried by the wielder of a long *sarisa*.

maius corpori teg. See n. on *aegris rebus*, c. 20. 5.

pilum. The *pilum* was at this time the weapon of the two front divisions of the army, the *hastati* (this name had lost its original signification) and the *principes*. The *triarii* (c. 13. 3 *subsidia*) and the *rorarii* (n. on *statarius* below) used the *hasta*, a spear or pike, but the *hastae* of the *rorarii* seem to have been shorter. The *pilum* was about 6½ feet long, and was hurled when the army came within ten or twenty paces of the enemy (c. 13. 2 n.).

ictu missuque. We may call these words 'Second Supine' or parts of 4th Decl. nouns; there is really no difference, as the so-called Supines are really cases of a verbal noun, the First Supine being an accusative and the Second Supine originally a locative, or in some uses possibly dative.

ictu missuque should mean 'in thrusting and hurling,' 'in force of thrust and throw'; but as the *pilum* was practically never thrust, Livy may mean by *ictu* the blow delivered by the *pilum* or the *hasta* when flung. The use of *missu* in reference to *hasta* is possible, as the *hasta* was sometimes, though rarely, flung by means of an *amentum*. We should have expected the order *missu ictuque*; perhaps it is best to follow W.-M. by taking *ictu missuque* as a Hendiadys (c. 18. 2 n.): 'in the impact produced by its throw.' But see Appendix II., p. 257, 2. (3), c.

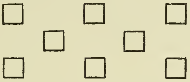
§ 8 **statarius**, 'heavy' troops; explained by *ordines servans* 'preserving their ranks,' in opposition to the light skirmishers (called *rorarii* among the Romans). Livy means that the main part of the army, both among the Romans and among the Macedonians, consisted of *statarii milites*. On the sing. *miles* see n. on c. 1. 7.

illa phalanx may mean 'the well-known phalanx,' but more probably *illa* has the same force as *illis* in § 7, and *illa phalanx* practically = *illorum phalanx*.

unius generis, 'uniform,' 'unvarying,' 'homogeneous,' all its

members having the same weapons and the same method of fighting (Lut.).

distinctior, 'more marked off,' 'more broken up,' *i.e.* 'more open.' See n. on c. 17. 1. The ten *manipuli* of each line were arranged at intervals in the well-known *quincunx* order shown in the accompanying diagram.



hastati.
principes.
triarii.

facilis partienti, 'easy to divide,' lit. 'for one dividing.'

esset, subjunctive of repeated action; Cicero uses the indicative in this meaning, but the subjunctive is very common in the Latin of the Empire.

§ 9 **iam**, 'furthermore,' 'above all.' The word is occasionally used to introduce a sentence on which special emphasis is laid, as the last sentence of a climax.

in opere, 'in action,' perhaps originally a soldier's expression.

bello. The simple abl. *bello* is not infrequently used = 'in war'; here it is used = 'in the war,' which ought to be in Latin *illo bello* or at least *in bello*; the omission of the preposition seems due to the influence of *uno proelio.*

Caudium. Livy might well have avoided all mention of Caudium in this passage.

§ 10 **ne**, not the negative conjunction but the asseverative particle = 'assuredly.'

quaesisset = *requisisset* 'would have missed,' 'would have thought with regret of.'

cum feminis. Gellius relates the story that Alexander of Epirus said that in going to the country of the Romans he was, as it were, proceeding to the men's quarters (ἀνδρωνῖτις), while Alexander of Macedon in his eastern expedition was going to the women's quarters (γυναικωνῖτις).

§ 11 **Alexandrum**, c. 17. 17 *Epiri rex Alexander*. He was the uncle of Alexander the Great. In 334 (?) B.C. he crossed over to Italy, on the invitation of the Tarentines, to assist them against the Lucanians. He soon made it evident, however, that he had come to serve his own ends by gaining a kingdom in Italy. He thus lost support, and after several successes, was defeated completely and slain at Pandosia, in Lucania, in 332 (?) B.C. The Romans are said to have made a treaty with him; their object was probably to overawe the Samnites.

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§ 13 **foederibus vetustis.** A treaty was said to have been made between Rome and Carthage in 509, another (which may be regarded as a renewal of the first) in 348 B.C. These treaties restricted Rome's maritime expansion; the next one (306; c. 43. 26) went farther in the same direction.

res = *res publica.*

§ 14 **adversus Antiochum, Philippum, Persen,** *i.e.* in the wars against them. Antiochus the Great of Syria was defeated in 190 by L. Scipio, brother of the great Africanus, at the battle of Magnesia or, more correctly, Mt Sipylus; his troops were armed in the Macedonian fashion. Philippus V. of Macedon waged two wars with the Romans; the second and by far the more important of the two was ended by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae, B.C. 197. Philip's son Perses, or Perseus, was finally defeated by L. Aemilius Paullus at Pydna, in B.C. 168.

non modo cum clade ulla, sed ne...quidem..., 'not only *not* with any defeat,' 'not only without a defeat, but even without any damage to themselves.' *Non modo* can be used for *non modo non* when *ne... quidem* follows and the two negative phrases or clauses have a verb in common. (In c. 13. 4 this requirement is not fulfilled, so *non modo non* is used.) We may regard the omission of the second *non* as due to anticipation of the negative contained in *ne.*

§§ 15, 16. See introductory n. on § 17.

§ 15 **absit invidia verbo,** 'may my utterance bring no nemesis.' It is a very ancient belief that excessive good fortune causes the envy of the unseen powers (cf. Herodotus' φθόνος τῶν θεῶν). A more refined form of the belief is that the presumption engendered by such fortune draws down punishment from heaven. Livy here uses the words *absit invidia verbo* to deprecate the guilt of over-presumption, especially as the terrible thought occurs that the horrors of civil war might rage as a retribution for his rashness. Such superstition is quite compatible with an agnostic attitude toward religion, as both ancient and modern instances can show. Various primitive forms of the particular superstition under consideration are found to-day among the ignorant.

Cf. XXVIII. 39. 11, where the spokesman of the Saguntine ambassadors says, *Turdetaniam...ita bello adflixit* (sc. *P. Scipio*) *ut non modo*

nobis, sed (*absit verbo invidia*) *ne posteris quidem timenda nostris esset.* Similarly in XXXVI. 7. 7.

numquam ab equite hoste. See Notes on the Text.

Livy may still be thinking of the relations of Rome and Macedon; if not, he is blinking facts in the boldest fashion. This passage suggests a rhetorical 'declamation,' as is shown in Appendix II. pp. 256 ff.

a pedite...laboravimus. *a* is used as if *laboravimus* were a passive verb (*e.g. victi sumus*). So in Greek ὑπό is used with words like ἀποθνήσκω, ἐκπίπτω.

aequis...nostris locis, 'in a fair...in a favourable field'; 'with equal...with superior advantages in position.'

With *noster* = 'our own,' hence 'favourable to us,' cf. IV. 7. 6, *sua tempora exspectare* (cf. 'to bide their time'), *ib.* 58. 2, *ut ex alieno incommodo sua occasio peteretur.*

utique numquam, n. on c. 16. 15.

§ 16 **equitem,** etc. Livy is here thinking particularly of the Parthians, who in their inaccessible country had defeated more than one Roman army, thanks largely to their mail-clad mounted archers (hence *equitem, sagittas*).

armis. This term perhaps here includes the whole of the soldiers' kit, which was enormous among the Romans.

§ 17 In a short article in *Harvard Studies* (1898) M. H. Morgan (who does not, however, cite any passage of this book) seeks to show by examples that there are several hidden verses in Livy, that Livy, who was evidently well read in early Latin poetry, sometimes takes a passage from a poet and incorporates it in his prose narrative with some changes, instead of giving a direct quotation (cf. c. 18. 9 n.). It is sometimes possible to restore the original verses with some probability. The phraseology of §§ 16—17, especially of § 17, inevitably suggests poetry. *Civilia bella sileant* suggests a hexameter ending, *sileant civilia bella*; § 16 may be founded on some such line as: *Avia formidare potest miles gravis armis.* In the case of § 17 a poetical origin can hardly be doubted, as the words run naturally into verse. The original lines may have been very like the following:

Mille acies avertit et avertet graviores,
Perpetuos modo sit huius, qua vivimus, <*urbi*> [or *vivimu', nobis*]
Pacis amor, sit civilis concordia curae.

Sīt is common in early poetry; *curae* is Predicative Dative. In these lines there are only two words (*et* and <*urbi*>) which are not used in § 17. Note the alliteration in the last line. Livy must surely

have meant this passage to be recognised by his readers as a poetical reminiscence. Who the author or authors of the verses recalled in §§ 15—17 may be, we cannot say. Ennius is the only poet whom Livy cites by name (XXX. 26. 9). See Eng. Index under 'Literary Allusions.'

avertit, cf. c. 39. 10 n.

CHAPTER 20

§§ 1—3 On this puzzling story see Appendix I., pp. 247, 249, 253.

§ 1 **ab frequentibus...de foed. ren.** These two phrases both depend on *legati*. Here the fact that *legati* is properly a participle makes the construction easier.

frequentibus populis = 'populous states.'

foedere: the treaty of B.C. 341.

§ 2 **reiecti ad populum**, 'referred to the people'; *reicere* is often used in this sense with an accusative either of the matter referred (especially *rem*) or of the persons. Cf. c. 43. 7.

habebant preces, 'urged their suit'; the imperfect gives the idea of continued, insistent pleading. The use of *habebant* here is probably the same as in *orationem habere* 'to deliver a speech.' The ordinary explanation, that we have here the same use as in c. 21. 4, *tutam aciem habuit*, does not account satisfactorily for the imperfect.

§ 3 **de foedere negatum**, lit. 'with regard to the treaty they met with a denial,' a roundabout way of saying *foedus negatum est*. Cf. c. 43. 7 *permissum de*.

indutiae..., adversative Asyndeton: tr., 'though' or 'but a truce ...was obtained.'

§ 4 **ex Apulia.** The use of *ex* is not quite clear. It may be like *ex parte altera*, c. 14. 6, 'in the region of Apulia,' as contrasted with Rome, the scene of the transactions just mentioned; or it may be 'partitive' in meaning, going closely with *Teanenses Canusinique*, 'of Apulia (*i.e.* of the Apulians) the people of Teanum....' In either case 'in Apulia' will suffice as a translation.

Teanenses. See n. on § 7, *Teates Apuli*. Teanum Apulum must not be confused with Teanum Sidicinum, in Campania, which was prominent in the First Samnite War.

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§ 5 **praefecti Capuam creari.** One *praefectus iure dicundo* was sent every year from Rome to act as chief magistrate of Capua. *creari*

with accus. of 'motion to,' is a 'pregnant' use such as is found with *scribere* and other verbs. *Capuam litteras scribere*=to write a letter (and send it) to Capua; so *praefectum Capuam creare*=to appoint (and send) a *praefectus* to Capua. Probably the instance most frequently given to exemplify this use is the construction of *abdo*, *e.g. se in silvam abdiderunt*, 'they concealed themselves in the forest,' *i.e.* 'they went into the forest and concealed themselves'; but as *abdo* originally='put away,' 'withdraw' (see n. on *dederant*, c. 15. 7), there is nothing remarkable in its being accompanied by an expression denoting motion.

creari (see n. on c. 7. 14) seems to show that the *praefectus* was chosen by the Roman people, not nominated by the praetor (in this case L. Furius).

coepti. *coepti* with *primum* is pleonastic. On the constr. of *coepti* see n. on c. 7. 7.

legibus datis, the technical expression for the giving of laws to a subject people, or to allies in a case like the present. Cf. XLV. 32. 7, *leges Macedoniae dedit cum tanta cura, ut non hostibus victis sed sociis bene meritis dare videretur.* In the case of Capua it is probable that the existing laws were revised and altered according to the Roman pattern (W.-M.).

utrumque, 'both,' *i.e.* the *praefectus* and the *leges.*

ipsi, 'of their own accord.'

pro remedio, 'as a remedy': the metaphor is kept up in *aegris rebus discordia intestina*, 'for the disordered condition which internal dissension produced.'

aegris rebus goes closely with *remedio*; cf. *corpori tegumentum*, c. 19. 7. The genitive would be more usual. A prepositional phrase in English attached to a noun ('remedy for disease,' etc.) is usually represented by a genitive in Latin (*remedium morbi*, etc.). Perhaps Livy wished here to avoid the combination *aegrarum rerum*, an unpleasant sound even to the Roman ear, as is shown by the avoidance in Latin of the gerundive in the gen. plur. (*Romanorum incitandorum*, etc.). *discordia intestina*, abl. of cause, goes closely with *aegris.* Cicero would rather have put these words between *aegris* and *rebus.*

§ 6 **duae Romae additae tribus.** To the four city tribes of the Servian arrangement many 'rustic' tribes had been added. The original reason of the addition to the number was probably the transference of the ownership of various regions outside the city from

the *gentes* to individuals. Afterwards the foundation of colonies and the granting of the citizenship to other communities and to various *peregrini* gradually increased the number of 'rustic' tribes. In 241 B.C. the last addition was made, raising the number of tribes to thirty-five. The *tribus* were arranged according to locality, as the names indicate: *Vfentina* comes from *Vfens*, the name of a river in Latium which rises in the Volscian hills and flows in a southerly direction, reaching the sea not far from Tarracina; the *Falernus ager* was a district in the north of Campania, famous for its vines. The *Vfentina* (or *Ouf.*) *tribus* included the town of Privernum, which had received the Roman citizenship in B.C. 329 (VIII. 21. 10); the *Falernus ager*, *usque ad Volturnum flumen*, had been taken from Capua and distributed among the Roman *plebs* (VIII. 11. 13). The addition of these two tribes brought the total number up to thirty-one.

§ 7 **inclinatis semel...rebus.** 'When once affairs in Apulia had taken the turn.' This use of *semel* is found also in the combinations *ut semel* (c. 39. 10), *cum semel*, *ubi semel* (XXII. 2. 7), *qui semel*, etc.

On *inclinatis* see nn. on c. 12. 3 and 7.

Teates Apuli. This is the same people as was mentioned in § 4; Teate (though Livy does not seem to have known it) is another name for Teanum Apulum. Livy is evidently here reiterating the information already given in § 4; the confusion is probably due to the annalist whom he is here following. Incidentally this passage shows how dangerous it is to put implicit trust in the chronology of Livy or his authorities.

ad novos consules. Note the casual way in which Livy lets the reader know that he is passing on to the doings of another year. This, however, is perspicuity itself compared to the vagueness about dates which is found repeatedly in Sallust and Tacitus.

pacis...auctores, 'taking it upon themselves to guarantee to the Roman people peace throughout the whole of Apulia.' On *auctor* see n. on c. 8. 12; the word is used here not of an adviser or instigator but of a person who takes the responsibility of something.

§ 8 **impetravere, ut foedus daretur.** Livy does not say whether the consuls granted the treaty (though he seems to imply that) or referred the matter to the Senate and people before committing themselves. As the treaty was not *aequum* but put the Apulians in the power of the Romans, the consuls may well have accepted the terms in the confident belief that they would be ratified by the powers in Rome.

ut aequo foedere...essent, lit. 'that they should be of equal treaty'—a somewhat extended use of the Abl. of Quality or Description.

in dicione populi Romani, 'under the control of the Roman people.' As Livy is speaking of the treaty, this phrase does not here imply, as it sometimes does, an unconditional surrender (such as that of § 4); it merely indicates that the treaty was unfavourable to the Apulians, placing certain restrictions on their freedom of action.

§ 9 **Forento**. See n. on *Frentanis*, c. 16. 1.

in Lucanos, n. on c. 17. 17.

Nerulum, in the S.W. of Lucania.

§ 10 **Romana disciplina**, with *stabilitas*. It makes no difference whether we take *res Capuae stabilitas* as = 'the settlement of Capua's affairs on a firm basis,' or understand *esse* with *stabilitas*.

Antiatibus quoque. Note *quoque*: the Antiates were full Roman citizens, and did not come under the head of *socii*, in the strict sense of the word.

certis, 'definite,' 'fixed.' The Romans had conquered the Volscian town of Antium in 468 B.C., and had sent a colony there; the original inhabitants, however, predominated, and the Antiates had proved a thorn in the flesh to the Romans in their wars with the Volscians. In 338 a second colony was settled there and the town received the full Roman citizenship. As a Roman colony Antium would adopt the Roman law, but apparently difficulties arose in administering it; the statutes were found to be indefinite on certain points which affected the mixed population very nearly, and on which its different elements were ever ready to quarrel; ignorance of the law on the part of their magistrates may have made matters worse.

agere. This verb is often used without an object by the historians signifying 'to be in a certain situation or condition,' 'to be situated,' 'circumstanced,' etc. Cf. c. 25. 6. This use may have arisen for the most part from such phrases as *vitam agere* (c. 26. 14) 'to pass one's life,' *tempus agere*, 'to spend time,' but the notion of 'acting' sometimes comes in. In c. 22. 3 *securior agere* = 'he proceeded with but little anxiety'; the meaning is like that of *rem agere* rather than that of *tempus agere*.

patroni. The *patroni* of a colony were certain eminent Romans chosen by it to represent it at Rome. They were in some degree analogous to the modern consuls.

late pollebant, 'were a power in the land.'

Chapter 21

§ 1 **ab se creatis**, a loose way of saying 'elected at the *comitia* over which they presided.'

The consuls remained in Rome, according to Livy (c. 22. 1).

§ 2 **Saticulam.** A Samnite town on the Campanian border. Its exact site is uncertain, but may have been that of S. Agata de' Goti.

oppugnare adortus, 'having attempted to make an assault on.' *Adoriri* with 'Prolate Infin.,' perhaps on the analogy of *conari*, is found in a number of passages in Livy.

rebellandi, c. 12. 4 n.

§ 3 **hinc...hinc**, = *hinc...illinc*, 'on one side...on another side.' See also n. on *ab tergo*, c. 12. 10.

eximendos obsidione = *liberandos obsidione.*

castris. Livy sometimes uses *ab* with *procul*, sometimes the bare abl. The latter construction is found in some poets but is very rarely, if ever, found in Cicero or Caesar.

Note that English may say 'pitched his camp not far from that of the Romans,' but *eis Romanorum* would be bad Latin. In this passage, instead of the repeated noun, *sua* might have been used.

magno cum tumultu. So in c. 24. 9; but without *cum*, c. 22. 4.

stationes, 'outposts.' See n. on c. 13. 9.

§ 4 **pars utraque...urgent.** A sort of *Constructio ad Sensum*, 'each' taking the construction of 'both,' as in Caes. *B. G.* III. 30. 3, *Vterque eorum ex castris stativis...exercitum educunt.* This construction, however, is rare with *uterque*, and it is reasonable to delete the commas and to explain *utraque pars* as in apposition to the subject of *urgent*; 'they press heavily upon the Romans, each force incited by hope....' Cf. the use of *quisque*, c. 3. 1 n.

spe, prob. Abl. of Cause modifying *urgent*, not parallel to *viribus*, which goes with *freta*. For the variation see n. on c. 4. 8.

Note the chiastic construction, *alieni auxilii...viribus suis.*

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iusto, 'regular.'

anceps, 'twofold.' *Anceps* comes from the root found in *ambo*, ἀμφί, ἀμφώ, etc., and *caput*, and thus properly means 'double-headed'; it is thus very appropriate in reference to a battle like the present, where there is an attack from two sides. As applied to a battle the word often means 'doubtful' (cf. *amb-iguus*), as in c. 23. 4.

tutam aciem dictator habuit=*tuta acies dictatori erat.* This use of *habeo* is common in Livy.

ad circumveniendum, n. on c. 12. 8, *incautus ad credendum.*

diversa statuit signa, 'made his men (lit. 'standards,' hence maniples; see n. on *signiferos*, c. 13. 2) face different ways,' 'presented a double front to the enemy,' in order to meet the twofold attack. Then having disposed of one enemy he turned the whole force to face the Samnites (*totam aciem in Samnites obvertit*).

§ 5 **erumpentes**, 'the sallying force,' *i.e.* the Saticulani.

nec=*et non*, which is more correct when the negative applies only to a particular word or phrase in a sentence; but even Cicero sometimes uses *nec* or *neque* as in this passage.

certamine, 'struggle,' 'effort.'

§ 6 **sicut...ita.** Cf. c. 13. 1 n.

varia, 'chequered' by varying fortune.

in castra, with *fusi*: 'hurled headlong into their camp.'

Plisticam. A town of Samnium (mod. Presta?), about which little seems to be known. It was near the Campanian border. The form of the name given in the text has the authority of Diodorus.

Plisticam...socios. A sort of *Constructio ad Sensum*, as if the inhabitants of Plistica, not the town, had been mentioned. Livy several times uses the name of a place when thinking of the inhabitants; the opposite (*e.g.* c. 20. 9 *Lucanos*) is more characteristic of Latin.

ipsi, 'on their part.' As the Romans had attacked the Samnite city of Saticula, so the Samnites invested a town which supported the Roman cause.

Chapter 22

§ 1 **circumacto**, c. 18. 15 n.

Romae manserunt. The consuls for this year, whose names Livy does not mention, were two of the greatest Romans of the time, L. Papirius Cursor and Q. Publilius Philo, who had both already held the consulship three times. It is surely inconceivable that two such men should have been kept in Rome when their services were required in the field. It would appear from Diodorus that the dictator was appointed after the battle at Saticula, and that both consuls proceeded to the siege of that town (W.-M.). See Appendix I., p. 248.

Some editors suppose that the names of the consuls have accidentally dropped out.

§ 2 **neque enim**=*non enim*; so *neque tamen*, *neque vero*, etc.

ab domo, c. 9. 12 n.

§ 3 **id bellum tantum ducere**, 'treated his attack on the city as the entire war'; lit., 'considered as war only that (action) by which he was attacking the city.' He concentrated all his attention on the taking of the city, as if the whole war consisted in the *oppugnatio.*

oppugnabat. Indicative, because the clause is an explanation given by Livy, and does not form part of the dictator's thoughts.

securior ab Samnitibus agere, etc., 'he paid but little heed to the Samnite force, contenting himself with stationing pickets....' *Securus* (*se*=*sine* and *cura*) means 'free from anxiety'; the meaning 'secure,' 'safe,' is a later development. The comparative intensifies the meaning: 'with considerable (or possibly 'too great') freedom from anxiety.'

ab here is probably used as with *tutus* etc. (c. 26. 19), for *securus* means 'feeling safe.'

For *agere* see n. on c. 20. 10.

§ 4 **eo ferocius**, 'with all the more spirit.' 'Fierce' is often a mistranslation of '*ferox.*' Cf. *ferociam*, c. 6. 13 n.

prope, not 'at hand' but 'almost.'

§ 5 **Fortuna exercuit opes**, 'Fortune exercised her power.'

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clades, 'disasters.'

ederet, 'caused,' 'brought about,' a frequent use of the verb in Livy, *e.g. caedem edere.*

funera, 'deaths,' a poetical use.

§ 6 **prior**, c. 3. 10 n.; c. 23. 2.

§ 7 **insignem**, with *quem*, not with *pugnam*: 'conspicuous': *inter suos* goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both *insignem* and *cientem.*

infesta cuspide, 'with levelled lance.'

ad, c. 2. 5 n.

§ 9 **ulti S. imperatoris**, 'of avenging the general of the Samnites,' lit. 'of the general...avenged'; see n. on c. 1. 4, *expiationem spretam.* Note the Perf. Part. of a deponent verb used in a passive sense. With a few verbs (*e.g. comitatus*, *populatus*, *meditatus*) this is frequent, but only in the Perf. Part.; the similar use of other parts (*e.g. ulcisci*, Sall. *Iug.* XXXI. 8) belongs to archaic and popular language. It is probable that all these uses are to be attributed to old by-forms in *-o.*

Comito is found in Propertius and Ovid, *ulcisco* in Ennius (*ulciscerem*), *populo* in Pacuvius and even in Vergil.

§ 10 **repentina**, 'hastily formed.'

Chapter 23

§ 1 **Soram.** On the upper Liris. The Romans had occupied it in 345 B.C.,—a significant step; see Mommsen, *R. H.* (Eng. Trans.) vol. I. p. 453.

Apuliaque. This is rather surprising. In c. 20. 9 we are told of *Apulia perdomita*, and nothing has since been mentioned about the presence of Roman legions in Apulia. We must then, suppose either that Livy was thinking of the Samnites who stormed Plistica or that he believed that one of the consuls commanded an army in Apulia, perhaps to cope with the besiegers of Plistica. See Appendix I., pp. 247 f.

§ 2 **magnis itineribus**, 'by forced marches.'

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§ 3 **alii super alios**, 'one upon another,' *i.e.* 'one after another.' The messengers came crowding one upon another, as it were.

§ 4 **Lautulas.** If Livy's account is correct, this can hardly be the place mentioned in VII. 39. 7, which was near Anxur, or Tarracina; there must have been another Lautulae near Sora. But if this is so, Livy seems to confuse the two places; cf. *locis angustis* § 9 with *saltu angusto* VII. *loc. cit.*, and see c. 25. 2, where, in speaking of the Ausones, whose northern boundary was close to the pass of Lautulae mentioned in Bk VII., he says that the arrival of the Samnites at the time of the battle of Lautulae caused a general commotion. In Appendix I. will be found what seems to be the true explanation of the difficulty; see pp. 247 f.

ancipiti, 'doubtful.' See n. on c. 21. 5.

caedes, fuga, sc. *erat*.

alterius, 'of either,' 'one or the other'; cf. c. 15. 1.

victi victoresne essent = *victine an victores essent*, which Cicero would have preferred. Cf. c. 32. 3, 45. 3.

§ 5 **invenio apud quosdam.** Introd. p. xx. These authorities were right. See Appendix I., p. 248, n. 2.

§ 6 **ab Roma**, c. 4. 14 n.

ad omnia, with *exploratis* or with *consiliis*, 'with his plans clearly

mapped out in every respect' (see n. on c. 12. 8), or (more probably) 'with his plans for every contingency clearly mapped out.'

§ 8 **modo**, cf. c. 5. 7.

pugnae may be gen. or dative (cf. *signum receptui canere*).

efficacius, *i.e.* than the other course, viz. allowing the soldiers other grounds for hope.

relictam spem. Like *expiationem spretam*, c. 1. 4 n., unless we prefer to understand *esse*: 'and thinking that a more effective way of kindling the hearts of brave men was to leave no one any hope save in himself....'

semet ipso does not refer to the dictator, as one might have expected. Eng. 'himself' in the above translation is similarly ambiguous, but such ambiguity is far more common in Eng. than in Latin.

de magistro...celavit. This is the regular construction of *celo* in literary prose of the classical period. The construction with two accusatives is found in Cicero's letters, but not, apparently, in his other works; it would be clumsy and even ambiguous here, as both objects would be names denoting persons, and moreover the meaning is not 'he concealed the Master of the Horse and the new army from the soldiers,' but 'he concealed the matter of (said nothing about)...to the soldiers.'

§ 9 **nulla nisi in eruptione spes**, very awkward, coming just after *nullam alibi quam in semet ipso cuiquam relictam spem*: probably an inadvertence.

in eruptione, *i.e.* in forcing a way through the army of the Samnites, which cut off a retreat through the valley of the Liris, while Sora made a forward march a matter of difficulty (Lut.).

locis augustis, c. 11. 5 n.

§ 10 **munimento tuta**, 'protected by a fortification.' In the next sentence *munimentis tuta*, 'protected by fortifications.' The slight difference between the sing. and the plural is like that between the corresponding English words.

eadem infesta, 'it is also (or 'nevertheless') fraught with danger; *idem* can often be translated thus.

circa omnia, c. 2. 1, 15. 1 n.

omnia is more expressive than *omnes*: 'every quarter from which provisions could have been conveyed to us has risen in revolt.'

si homines iuvare velint. The apodosis, 'they would find it almost impossible,' or something similar, is implied in *iniqua loca sunt.*

§ 11 **pristino die**, 'last time,' lit. 'on the former day,' *i.e.* on the day of the last battle (§ 4); cf. IV. 32. 10, *ab pristini diei meliore occasione.*

recipiatis, subjunctive with *in quae* in final sense: 'to retire to,' 'to which to retire.'

§ 12 **quibus operae est**, 'who have time (leisure).' This phrase, which is common in Plautus and Livy, is probably quite distinct from *operae pretium est*, 'it is worth the trouble, worth while,' but it is not very easy to explain. Roby takes *operae* as a Predicative Dative, 'it is matter for attention,' but it may be a gen., *mihi operae est* = 'it is for me a part of my work,' 'I make it part of my work,' hence 'I have time for it.'

respectum, combining the literal meaning 'looking back' (§ 14) with the derived meaning 'thought of,' 'regard for' (c. 14. 14). Tr. 'let us prevent our eyes from having anything but victory to look back on.'

§ 13 **ferte signa**, c. 14. 5 n.

quibus, *i.e. ii quibus....*

omnium circa...populorum. The insertion of *circa* between an adjective and a noun is less harsh than the constr. in § 10. See the references cited in the note on that passage.

§ 14 **et**, to be taken along with the following *et*; the soldiers were spurred on both by the speech and by the sight of the camp in flames.

index = *indicium*; often used by Livy of things (Lut.). See n. on *testis erit*, c. 8. 4.

vadunt, c. 13. 2 n.

respectus. The repetition of this word here is rather unfortunate, in view of what the dictator said in § 12.

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proximis, 'the parts nearest them': an 'ambiguous form' in the neuter; see n. on *de eo*, c. 8. 4.

est subditus, not *erat s.*, from the influence of the preceding *vadunt.*

§ 15 **velut vecordes**, c. 13. 3, n. on *prope vesano.*

signa, 'ranks.' The standards of the various divisions all in their several places were a conspicuous feature of an army in orderly array, so the word *signa* could be used to represent the divisions of an army, *e.g.* the Roman maniples. See c. 21. 4 n. and c. 13. 2 n.

hostium, to be taken with *signa*, not with *impetu*. The order is clumsy.

per diversa, 'by different routes,' 'in different directions.' For *diversus* applied to persons see c. 2. 2.

in medio, *i.e.* between the forces of the Dictator and those of the *Magister Equitum*.

Chapter 24

§ 1 **magna parte...dimissa novisque cohortibus...adductis**. These Ablatives Absolute do not seem to denote an action prior to that of the main verb, as one would expect; they simply mention an additional fact. In English, 'a great part of the veterans being sent away...' could be similarly used. The use of the Abl. Abs. with a Perf. Part. in this sense is very common in Tacitus. In c. 32. 1 the Perf. Part. in the nominative is similarly used.

cohortibus, an unconscious anachronism, as the Roman army was not divided into cohorts before the time of Marius. Cf. § 5.

in supplementum. *in* with accus. here denotes purpose, as often: 'to fill the gaps,' 'to reinforce the ranks.'

§ 2 This sentence is worth attention as a good example of a Latin period.

nec...et, c. 4. 8 n.

certa ratio, 'definite plan.'

iniretur, 'was being formed.'

aut tempore longinqua..., lit. 'victory was either far distant in time or rash (headlong) from its danger'; or possibly *praeceps periculo* = 'rushed at their peril,' *i.e.* 'dangerous to attempt at a rush,' in which case *periculo* must be added to the list of modal ablatives used in this book without an attribute (c. 2. 2 n.). Tr.: 'since victory meant either long waiting or dangerous haste.'

§ 3 **traditurum**, sc. *se*. Cf. c. 4. 3, 1. 11 n.

§ 4 **quonam...**, indir. question with *percontantes*.

id praestaturus esset, 'was to make good his promise.' Cf. VII. 16. 5, *aspice quem ad modum exercitus tibi promissa praestet*. On *praesto* see c. 9. 18 n.

haud vana, 'a feasible proposal.'

perpulit. See n. on *victus est*, c. 3. 8.

ut. For the position of the word cf. c. 9. 2; but the reason for the postponing of the word in the present case is the desire to separate the string of neut. plurals *adiuncta...Romana castra* from *sex milia*,

and thus to make the sentence both clearer and neater. Similarly in c. 42. 7 *ut* is postponed because if it came immediately before *qui* these two words might be taken together (*ut qui=utpote qui*, *quippe qui*).

milia, sc. *passuum*, as often. The Roman mile (*mille passus*) was about 1618 yards.

§ 5 **diurnae stationes ac nocturnae vigiliae**, c. 13. 9 n. The addition of *diurnae* and *nocturnae* is pleonastic.

silvestribus locis, c. 11. 5 n.

per ardua; cf. *per diversa*, c. 23. 15.

arcem. The citadel of an ancient town was regularly situated on a hill, while the *oppidum* was built wholly or partially on the plain. *Arx* is sometimes used for the hill itself, and seems to be so employed here; at all events Livy does not mention any fortification on the summit, but only a number of stones gathered together in order to be rolled down upon an enemy approaching by the *semita* or climbing the hill after capturing the *oppidum*.

pluribus quam pro, 'too numerous for,' 'out of all proportion to' (Stephenson), 'more than the numbers of the men necessitated,' lit. 'more numerous than according to....' This use of *quam pro* with a comparative, corresponding to ἢ κατά in Greek, is said not to be found before Livy. As Riemann (*Études*, p. 275) mentions, Caesar expresses a similar idea by means of *pro* with a positive adjective: *pro multitudine hominum...angustos se finis habere arbitrabantur*, 'they thought that they had too little territory for (lit. 'narrow in proportion to, considering') the size of their population' (*B. G.* I. 2. 5). See c. 27. 13, *maius quam pro numero auxilium*, 'a help not to be measured by their numbers.' Compare also *quam qui* with a compar., c. 9. 14 n.

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§ 6 **ad hoc**, 'besides.'

temere, 'by accident,' 'by chance,' opp. to *de industria*; a similar antithesis is *forte*, *consilio*, c. 31. 7.

aspretis, rare, except in Livy. The suffix *-etum* denotes place, *e.g.* *quercetum* 'oak forest,' *dumetum*, etc.

§ 7 **erectam**, 'rising.'

hoc ascensu, 'from climbing this (or 'here')'; for the brachylogy see n. on *ea spes*, c. 12. 7. The abl. goes with *arcuerint*.

arcuerint, 'could ward off.' This subjunctive may be called Potential or Hypothetical (apodosis, with protasis such as *si volueris* omitted). See n. on c. 4. 12; here, however, there is no modesty or mildness in the assertion, and if the perf. differs at all from the present it is in giving greater emphasis: 'could (or 'would') prove (be sure) to have warded off.' In its 'potential' and hypothetical uses, however, the Perfect Subj. cannot generally be distinguished in meaning from the Present. Perhaps the influence of the Greek Aorist Optative with ἄν accounts to some extent for the frequency of the Perf. Subj. in clauses such as *hoc quidem...arcuerint*, especially with such adverbs as *merito*, *facile*, *libenter*, *citius* (see Roby II. § 1540).

§ 8 **decem numero**, cf. c. 25. 4 *duodecim numero*.

quae...ostentat, 'which when people are terrified makes everything appear more formidable owing to the vagueness of the danger.'

iam, 'now,' 'forthwith,' 'at once.'

intenti tenete. Adj. instead of adverb; see Eng. Index under 'Adjective.' The adjective here retains some of its adjectival force, so this is not one of the extreme instances of an adj. = an adverb. *Intente* does not seem to be used in the positive by any classical author (for the compar. see c. 22. 3).

§ 9 **quanto maxime...**, c. 10. 10 n.

pro vestram fidem. The interjection *pro* (not *proh*), which must not be confused with the preposition, seems regularly to take the voc. if followed by a word denoting a god (*e.g. pro Iuppiter! pro di immortales!*), but the accusative when *fides* is mentioned, as here, and in similar expressions, *e.g. pro deum atque hominum fidem!* With the accus. the verb *imploro* is perhaps to be supplied, but 'these expressions became purely colloquial exclamations, = "Good heavens," "Oh Lord!", not real invocations' (Roby II. § 1129).

§ 10 **in publicum**, 'into the streets.' See c. 7. 11 n.

§ 11 **multiplicato**, 'magnified,' 'exaggerated.'

audirent. See n. on *renuntiaretur*, c. 4. 6.

§ 12 **maxima parte**, 'for the most part,' a sort of Abl. of Specification or 'Part or Thing Concerned' (*New Lat. Primer* § 151 p. 85, Gildersleeve-Lodge § 397 p. 255). The accus. *maximam partem* is also used.

praesidium, 'detachment,' *i.e.* the *cohortes* mentioned in § 5.

concursantes, nominative.

§ 13 **cum...advenere**. The so-called '*Cum* Inversum.' The 'inversion' consists in putting into the *cum*-clause what is logically the chief verb (as here *advenere*) and on the other hand inserting the less important

verb in the principal clause. English often uses a similar inversion in order to add vividness; *e.g.* 'They had just arrived when the enemy came upon them.' In such cases the Perf. Indic. is regularly used with *cum* in Latin (in c. 33. 3 the Historic Present).

reliquos...fecerat, 'had left over,' 'had allowed to survive,' rather a favourite expression in Livy. Cf. XXV. 16. 17, *quod unum reliquum fortuna fecerit*; XXVI. 47. 1, etc.

§ 14 **omnium consensu destinabatur.** The instrumental meaning of *consensu* is clearly seen in this clause.

auctores, 'as the promoters of,' 'as the persons responsible for.'

praesidio, 'garrison'; not as in § 12.

§ 15 **mitteretur.** A relative clause depending on an Accus. and Infin. clause is often put in the subjunctive, even if the Accus. and Inf. clause does not depend on a verb of saying or thinking. In the present instance however, there is 'virtual Oratio Obliqua,' for Livy is thinking of the sentiments of the *plebs*.

This sentence does not necessarily imply that Sora had been occupied by a colony of Roman citizens. See n. on *civibus*, c. 26. 5.

The capture of Sora should have been assigned to the next year; Appendix I., p. 248, n. 4.

Chapter 25

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§ 1 **in.** The usual construction after *bellum inferre* is a dative, but when the noun denotes a locality, as here, *in* + accus. is natural, and is frequently found.

Ausonum. *Ausones* (Αὔσονες) is the Greek form corresponding to the Latin Aurunci. This people, once more widely spread, occupied the fertile strip of land extending from the outskirts of Terracina (Anxur) to Sinuessa, and perhaps as far as the mouth of the Volturnus.

§ 2 **mota...fuerant.** See c. 1. 4, n. on *repetitae fuerant*.

namque. Livy is the first prose author to use *namque* in such a position; earlier authors place it at the beginning of a sentence.

cum...dimicatum est goes closely with *adventu*, which has a 'verbal' meaning.

Lautulas. It was this defeat which caused the commotions.

circa, 'in the region of,' 'in and around.'

crimine. Capua and other cities revolted, though Livy does not say so.

§ 3 **quin**, cf. c. 16. 19.

et, 'and indeed,' 'and that too.' Cf. the use at the beginning of a sentence, c. 16. 12, and the use of *et is*, c. 18. 9.

inquirendo, 'by investigation,' *i.e.* 'in the course of an investigation into the matter.' Tr.: 'Capua itself was not exempt from accusation, indeed an investigation extended the charge to Rome and, what is more, to some of Rome's leading citizens.'

§ 4 **Ausona.** The exact situation of this town is uncertain.

principes, cf. § 3 init. In these cities, as in Capua, the sympathies of the aristocracy were with Rome.

coniurati. *Iuratus*, *potus*, *cenatus*, *pransus*, though passive in form, are active in meaning. The adjectival termination *-tus* seems to have been originally capable of both an active and a passive meaning; thus *molestus labor* = burdensome (burdening) toil, but the same adjective as applied to speech, gesture, etc., means 'laboured,' 'overloaded.'

§ 5 **iam pridem exoptantes**, c. 3. 2, n. on *vincimus*.

simul = *simul atque*, as often in Livy.

pro, c. 11. 4 n.

iuventute armis. Asyndeton in the case of two words is especially common in legal language and in technical expressions or other much-used combinations, among which the present instance is probably to be numbered. *iuventute* = those of the age for bearing arms (which at Rome was from 17 to 45).

The abl. may be taken as denoting instrument, the army as well as the arms being instruments in the hands of the State, but it may denote accompaniment, as in the stock phrase *armis virisque*, c. 38. 7 etc. Compare the use of the abl. in speaking of troops with reference to their commander, c. 13. 10 n. Note also the alliteration *iuventute...iuvisse.*

§ 6 **fugatis.** Livy here implies that the annalists mentioned in c. 23. 5 were wrong.

agere, c. 20. 10 n.

nec...et, c. 4. 8 n.

opprimi. See c. 3. 1 n.

§ 7 **circa**, 'round to.'

armati. Tr. 'in armour,' not 'armed,' as the *togati* also were armed.

his, these, the latter, *i.e.* the *togati.*

§ 8 **simul...simul**, 'at the same time...and.'

§ 9 **caedibus.** The plural is here used because there was more than one 'slaughter'; three towns were involved.

certo...crimine. Abl. Absolute; 'though their guilt was not quite certain.' *Crimen* properly = 'charge,' 'accusation,' but is here used in the derived meaning, 'crime.' In § 2 it may have either meaning.

Chapter 26

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§ 1 **prodito.** This is invented. The colony (§ 5) was sent in 314 to secure Luceria after its recapture by the Romans in 315, which Livy has wrongly placed in 320. See Appendix I., pp. 248, 253.

Samnitium facta, 'came into the possession of the Samnites.' For the Genitive of the Person possessing with *fieri* cf. Cic. *Top.* 4. 23 *omnia, quae mulieris fuerunt, viri fiunt, dotis nomine.*

In Hor. *Carm.* III. 13. 13, *Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium*, the similar use of the 'Partitive Genitive' is probably a Grecism.

res, 'the deed.'

§ 2 **haud procul inde....** The mention of a Roman army in Apulia is somewhat surprising. In c. 23. 1 Livy says that the seat of war was transferred from Samnium and Apulia to Sora, and after that point he has given no information of armies of the Romans or the Samnites in Apulia. Even in c. 23. 1, as we have seen, the mention of Apulia springs a surprise on the reader.

sita in plano, 'situated as it was in a plain.'

ad internecionem caesi, 'were annihilated.' *ad = usque ad*, 'as far as,' 'to the extent of.'

§ 3 **delendam urbem censerent.** Is this an (unconscious) echo of Cato's immortal sentence, with which at one period the great censor ended every speech which he made in the Senate: *censeo delendam esse Carthaginem*?

§ 4 **exsecrabile,** 'execrating,' 'abominating,' hence 'bitter,' 'unmerciful,' 'furious.' The termination *-bilis* denotes quality, characteristic, and may be used with an active notion. Thus *terribilis* = terrifying, such as to terrify, *flebilis* = (1) deserving to be wept over, lamentable, (2) weeping, tearful.

abhorrere a relegandis, 'to recoil from the idea of banishing....' See c. 17. 5 n.

ab domo, c. 9. 12, n.

civibus. Luceria was a 'Latin' colony, but Roman citizens often joined such colonies, though they thereby exchanged their Roman citizenship for that of an allied community.

§ 5 **vicit sententia.** See n. on c. 3. 8, *victus est.* The Romans were doubtless anxious to preserve their influence over Apulia, and a strong colony in Luceria would help to keep the Apulians in check.

eodem anno.... Here Livy resumes the narrative of c. 25.

omnia, more expressive than *omnes.*

principum. If the *principes* turned against Rome, then her power in Capua was gone (see n. on c. 25. 4), for the mass of the people was antagonistic to her.

§ 6 **quaestiones,** 'investigations,' 'judicial inquiries,' Fr. *enquêtes. Quaestio* is the general word for a criminal trial, but here includes the searching out of the guilty.

quaestionibus exercendis. Tr. 'to hold them,' 'to preside over the investigations.' By the repetition of *quaestionibus*, where *eis* would have sufficed, Livy implies that *quaestionibus exercendis* was the legal phrase used on the occasion of this appointment. Such an expression is very unusual; the general phrase *rei gerundae causa* was usually employed on the appointment of a dictator to deal with some grave crisis of the state, though of other functions special phrases are used, *e.g. comitiorum* (*habendorum*) *causa* (c. 7. 12), *clavi figendi causa* (c. 28. 6 n., 34. 12), *ludorum causa* (c. 34. 12). In the present case C. Maenius is said in the Fasti Capitolini to have been appointed *rei gerundae causa.* The presidency of a *quaestio* such as we have here was generally given to one of the ordinary magistrates, to a consul or a praetor. Doubtless Maenius was in the first instance appointed with a view to the war, for the words of Livy in cc. 25 and 26 conceal an actual revolt of Capua.

Qu. exerc. is 'Dative of Purpose,' or of 'Work Contemplated.' See refs. in Eng. Index under 'Dative.'

§ 7 **C. Maenius.** See n. on *intra decem annos,* c. 34. 14.

conscientia, 'consciousness of guilt,' 'a guilty conscience.'

Ovium. See c. 7. 2.

ea capita fuerant = *ii c. f.* For the 'attraction' cf. c. 2. 5 n.

nominarentur, 'before their names could be mentioned,' 'before information could be laid against them.' *Prius quam* is often used with the subjunctive to denote an action which is forestalled or prevented. Cf. c. 29. 1.

§ 8 **quaestioni.** This dat. may go with *materia* (c. 19. 7, 20. 5 n.)

or with *decessit*. The dat. denoting the thing affected is often found with verbs of taking away, *e.g.* *adimo*, *eripio*; it is essentially the same as the 'Dative of the Person interested,' which is used with these verbs and is often found with *decedo* in Livy, *e.g.* c. 29. 1, II. 31. 7.

interpretando, 'by inference,' by 'putting two and two together,' 'interpreting (putting constructions on) the signs.' Tr.: 'Indications were believed to point to the transference of the case to Rome: it was reported that the Senate had given orders....' According to this rendering the Accus. and Infin. constr. depends on the notion of saying or thinking contained in *interpretando*; Luterbacher, however (perhaps rightly), takes it as directly depending on *interpretando*: 'by the inference drawn that the Senate....'

in universum, 'in general,' 'as a whole'; *in* here denotes direction, and hence the extent, application of the action.

coissent. In the XII. Tables we find *coetus nocturni* prohibited.

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quaeri, 'to be sought out.'

§ 9 **coitiones**, 'cabals.'

honorum, 'magistracies'; so in § 11 *honorem* = 'public office.'

latior.... 'The scope of the inquiry became wider in regard both to its matter and to the persons implicated.'

fieri. Historic Infin.

sine fine ulla, 'without any limit.'

Finis, fem., occurs several times in Livy.

§ 10 **postulabantur**, 'were impeached,' 'were summoned to take their trial.'

nobiles homines. See n. on *hominum novorum*, § 11.

appellantibus tribunos, 'appealing to the tribunes' for *auxilium*, which they could give by *intercessio* (veto, c. 8. 13 n.) exercised against any ordinary magistrate. This right of the tribunes was originally exercised on behalf of plebeians alone, but was subsequently applied to the whole people. It is very improbable that *intercessio* could legally be exercised against the action of a dictator, but it was sometimes attempted, and in VII. 3. 9 we read of a dictator bowing to the combined opposition of the tribunes. Their *sacrosanctitas* gave their power a prestige which could not be easily slighted. [The right of *provocatio ad populum* was extended so as to apply to a dictator's acts probably in 300 B.C. by a *Lex Valeria*.]

quin, after the notion of preventing contained in *auxilio erat*: 'not one came to the rescue to prevent their names from being put on the list of accused persons.' *Nomen recipere* was used of the president of a *quaestio* when he consented to the trial of a person against whom an accusation was lodged.

§ 11 **in quos crimen intendebatur**, 'at whom the accusation was aimed.' But in the next line *crimen* may mean 'crime' (see n. on c. 25. 9). This may be due to inadvertence, but the repetition of the same word at a short interval even in a different sense did not offend Roman taste.

It is possible to translate, 'that accusation did not belong to (apply to) the nobles.'

obstetur...pateat. See c. 6. 13, n. on *fuerit*.

hominum novorum. The first member of a family to hold a curule office was a *homo novus*. Here, however, the word is probably used in a wider application and with a touch of contempt by the patricians with reference to the 'upstart' plebeian families whose members had held one or more of the chief magistracies, which till comparatively recent years had been reserved for patricians. Tr.: 'the plebeian parvenus.'

The order of 'nobility' founded on office, which arose from the opening of the chief offices, had not yet had time to grow, and by *nobiles* in this passage Livy means patricians (see § 16 *patricii*).

§ 12 **simul.** See c. 25. 5 n.

§ 13 **tum enimvero.** 'Then indeed'; cf. II. 22. 6 *enimvero tum*, 36. 6 *tunc enimvero*. In early Latin, and occasionally in classical poetry, *enim* = 'indeed,' and that meaning seems to survive in *enimvero*, a strengthened form of *enim*.

§ 14 **vos conscios habeo** = *vos conscii mihi estis*; Livy's characteristic use of *habeo* (c. 21. 4 n.).

testis, c. 8. 4 n.

neque enim, c. 22. 2 n.

tempora, 'critical times,' 'crises,' as often.

qui, *i.e. is qui*.

esset...egisset. 'Virtually oblique,' alluding to the thoughts in the minds of those who appointed the dictator.

deligendus fuit. See c. 17. 7 n.

§§ 15—18. This is an extreme instance of the periodic structure, but it is very effective; by its skilful arrangement it would keep the hearer in suspense till the end, where the all-important words *dictatura me*

abdico are uttered. The different parts are mostly clear-cut and distinct, and in this respect the period will compare not unfavourably with many sentences equally long which are uttered by leading politicians of the present day. The frequent introduction of parentheses is not confined to ancient oratory, and in Livy (not only in his speeches) the parenthesis is a favourite device for lightening a sentence which would otherwise be too cumbrous from the aggregation of dependent clauses.

The outline of the period is as follows: *quoniam quidam nobiles homines...primum...adnisi sunt, dein...confugerunt, postremo...irruerunt et privatis* (*eis*)*...verecundiae non fuit, ut omnes...sciant...dictatura me abdico.*

Note that *ne causam dicerent* depends on *confugerunt*, *ut...sciant* on *abdico*, but on the other hand *ne...reddant* depends on the preceding verb *temptari.*

§ 15 **pro magistratu.** See c. 7. 12 n. Tr. 'as a magistrate,' or 'in my official capacity.'

melius est. We may translate either 'it is more fitting' or 'it would be more fitting.' Similarly *melius erat*, *fuit*='it was' or 'it would have been more fitting.' See c. 9. 12 n.

omni ope, 'with all their might.'

adnisi. The infin. with this verb is found also in Tacitus; the ordinary construction is with *ut* or *ne.*

§ 16 **postquam...erant**, *i.e.* from the time when they were, *as they still continued to be....* This notion of the permanence of the circumstances denoted by the temporal clause is regularly present when *postquam*, *ubi*, *simul ac*, or temporal *ut* is used with an imperfect tense, instead of the usual perfect. In c. 31. 9 the meaning of the imperfects seems rather to be, 'they began to....'

praesidia appears to keep up the metaphor of *expugnare* (Stephenson).

patricii, 'patricians though they be.' [See n. on *appellantibus*, § 10.] Similarly *privatis* below, § 17, 'though private citizens,' 'although holding no office.'

§ 17 **adeo**, to such an extent, 'so truly,' 'so true is it that....'

ut, forming a noun-clause, as often.

purgarent, 'clear from all aspersions,' 'vindicate'; a somewhat free use of the word. *Purgare* is generally used with a personal object, sometimes with such a noun as *crimen.*

verecundiae, Predicative Dative. (*Eis*) *verecundiae fuit* coupled

with *irruerunt* is rather awkward, but hardly to be avoided, as Latin has no 'personal' verb = 'to be ashamed.'

§ 18 **ab illis...me.** Sharply contrasted, the contrast being made all the more forcible by the Asyndeton.

§ 19 **datum fuerit,** c. 1. 4 n.

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exerceatis, without *ut*, c. 8. 9 n.

nostra nos. Latin is very fond of bringing together two pronouns, or a pronoun and a pronominal adjective.

honoris, 'of our office.'

istis. This adj. is often used with reference to an opponent, especially in the law-courts.

§ 20 **primi.** They were the first on this occasion to be cited before the consuls (not the dictator). After them Publilius Philo and other illustrious men had the same experience.

§ 21 **Publilius Philo,** mentioned in c. 12. 9.

multipl. summis honoribus..., 'who after repeatedly holding the chief offices of state and performing many deeds of note both at home and in the field, was nevertheless unpopular with the nobility.'

invisus. Because of his three famous laws, which were very favourable to the plebeians, and his invectives against the patricians (VIII. 12. 14).

belloque. The locative *bellique* would have been more usual (see c. 34. 9). *Bello* is prob. abl. of 'Time When' (see c. 19. 2 n., 19. 9 n.). Another common phrase is *domi militiaeque*.

§ 22 **per clara nomina reorum viguit,** 'throve on (lit. 'by means of') the illustrious names of the accused.'

Chapter 27

§ 1 **in quam coniuratum erat,** 'which had been the object of the conspiracy.'

§ 3 **circa,** 'in the neighbourhood of'; cf. c. 2. 1.

utrimque, almost = *utrisque*, 'the road from the Romans to the Samnites, and *vice versa*,' Weissenb. *cunctati sunt*, sc. *utrique* (Stephenson).

iniqua, 'difficult.' Cf. c. 38. 5, *locorum iniquitatibus*.

§ 4 **agmen demittunt,** c. 2. 9 n.

primum. Not = 'in the first place,' in contrast with the following *deinde*, as one would expect, but = 'for the first time.'

in conspectum hostibus data, 'was presented to the view of the enemy.' Since for *data* one might here substitute *proposita*, *data* may be from *dare* 'place' (c. 15. 7 n.), not from *dare* 'give,' though the two uses seem sometimes to be mixed.

For the dative *hostibus* see c. 12. 1 n., and cf. *ducibus* below, § 6.

§ 5 **periculum**, from the same root as *experior*, *experimentum*; here = 'trial'; 'each side tried its strength.'

trahebant. It is impossible to say with certainty what is the subject of this verb. It may be, as W.-M. and Lut. say, *Romani*, taken from *Romanum*, which = *Romanos*, but it may be [*Romani et Samnites*], or again [*ea*], *i.e. levia proelia*, taken from *eorum*.

§ 6 **parvis cottidie damnis**, c. 15. 1, n. on *Apuli circa*.

suae, as often, referring to the *logical*, not the grammatical subject. The thought is, 'The Samnite generals seemed to suffer from the delay.'

§ 7 **in cornua divisis**, 'distributed between the wings.' This seems to mean that the *cornua* consisted of cavalry, the infantry forming the centre. In the Roman army, on the other hand, the *cornua* consisted of infantry, and on their flanks were *alae* containing cavalry.

respectum castrorum, c. 23. 14.

eo, somewhat unusual with *fieri*.

starent, without *ut*; see c. 8. 9 n.

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pedite. The cavalry is regarded simply as an instrument.

§ 8 **consulum Sulpicius...consistunt.** The 'Partitive Gen.' is rarely used with proper names in other authors. One would expect here *consistit* or, if we retain the plur. verb, *consules*, with which the proper names would be in apposition. The latter reading is favoured by Madvig, following Aldus and Gronovius.

§ 9 **sinistris**, masc. = *sinistrae parti*.

steterant = *constiterant*, 'had taken their stand.' Similarly in Juvenal's famous words, *Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit*, the meaning of *stetit*, as Prof. Housman has shown, seems to be, 'has come to a standstill.'

repentino. Cf. c. 22. 10.

subsidiarias cohortes, *i.e.* the *subsidia* or *triarii* (c. 13. 3 n.). On *cohortes* see c. 24. 1 n.

integrae, from *in* + root found in *tango*, *te-tigi*, = untouched, un-

impaired by toil, 'fresh.' In c. 32. 8 it is contrasted with *fessus*, in c. 44. 11 with *defessus*.

universis, 'combined.'

impulit, 'forced back,' = *inclinavit*.

§ 10 **commota**, 'set in motion,' 'pressed,' 'dislodged.'

transverso agmine, 'with a cross movement,' 'wheeling across.'

signa et ordines, a stock expression = the ranks (*i.e.* maniples of the infantry) with their standards (Hendiadys, c. 18. 2 n.), here rather loosely used of the whole Samnite force, infantry and cavalry.

§ 11 **hortator adfuerat**, c. 13. 2 n.

avectus, sc. *equo*; opp. *advectus* c. 31. 10.

conserentibus, n. on *manum conferre* c. 5. 10.

ad, 'in the direction of.'

§ 12 **signa inferentem**, 'charging.' See n. on c. 13. 12, and cf. c. 32. 6.

§ 13 **maius quam pro numero**, c. 24. 5 n.

audita, mox visa etiam...victoria. 'The report, soon followed by the sight of the victory'; c. 1. 4, n. on *expiationem spretam*.

§ 14 **omisso**, c. 9. 6 n.

caedi capique = *caedi aut capi*; cf. the next sentence.

Maleventum. The name was changed owing to its supposed ill-omened formation. As a matter of fact it has nothing to do with *malus* (or with *ventus*), but = *Maloentum*, from the Greek Μαλοϝεὶς, hence = Sheep-town. The name *Pontus Euxinus* (Εὔξεινος) is said to be a similar superstitious euphemism. The Black Sea appeared very inhospitable (ἄξεινος) to the early Greek mariners. The name Beneventum was given to the town when a Roman colony was founded there, B.C. 268.

ad, 'about,' often used with numerals without influencing the case. The usage is rare, but not unknown, in Cicero.

proditum memoriae est, 'it is traditionally recorded.' Livy might well guard himself by such a qualification in the case of so incredible a statement.

Chapter 28

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§ 1 **Bovianum**, c. 31. 4.

§ 2 **quintum.** For his fourth consulship see c. 22. 1 n.

§ 3 **fuga.** Abl. of Cause.

arcem Fregellanam captam. From this sentence taken in conjunction with c. 12. 8 it would seem that the Romans had consumed by fire the *oppidum* of Fregellae, *i.e.* all but the *arx* (c. 24. 5 n.).

But, as is mentioned in Appendix I., pp. 248, 253, the story in c. 12 is a fiction. Fregellae was restored to the Samnites after the Caudine disaster, and the present chapter relates its recapture by the Romans.

§ 4 **sub**, 'immediately before.'

§ 6 **captae decus Nolae**, 'the honour of capturing Nola.' Nola had doubtless revolted, like Capua, after the battle of Lautulae.

Atinam, east of Fregellae.

Calatiam, c. 2. 2 n.

clavi figendi. 'The fixing of the nail' was an old ceremony, which had fallen into desuetude long before Livy's time. In VII. 3. 3 ff. Livy tells how, on the occasion of the great plague of B.C. 363, when other means of appeasing the wrath of heaven had failed, the senate ordered the appointment of a dictator *clavi figendi causa*, as that rite was said to have allayed a pestilence on a former occasion. The ceremony consisted in driving a nail into the wall of the *cella* of Minerva in the great Capitoline temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. This, according to Livy and others, was done every year, being originally a way of marking the number of the passing years in an age when writing (including the writing of numerals) was a rare accomplishment. Mommsen, however (*Röm. Chronologie*, p. 175 ff.), contends that the account given by Livy and other Latin authorities is very far wrong. The 'fixing of the nail,' he maintains, took place not once a year, but once a century, to commemorate the great plague. The rite was borrowed from Etruria, where it was performed in the temple of Nortia, the goddess of fate[1]. The nail is symbolic of *saeva Necessitas*, or *Fortuna*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* I. 35. 17:

> *Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas*
> *Clavos trabales et cuneos manu*
> *Gestans ahena;*

also III. 24. 5:

> *Si figit adamantinos*
> *Summis verticibus dira Necessitas*
> *Clavos.*

(See Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, pp. 234, 235.)

Thulin (*Rhein. Mus.* LX. pp. 256—61) maintains that the worship of the *dei Capitolini*, Iuppiter, Iuno, and Minerva, was introduced from Etruria, and that Minerva was originally a goddess of fortune.

[1] It appears also among the Veneti, at the ancient Ateste, where the goddess was called Rehtia, *i.e.* Rectia [R. S. C.].

If this be so, we can see clearly why the wall of the *cella* of Minerva was chosen for the 'fixing of the nail.' When the dictatorship disappeared, after 202 B.C., this ceremony vanished likewise.

If Mommsen is correct in thinking that the rite was performed only once in a century, Livy (or rather the authority mentioned by him) is wrong in saying that Poetelius was appointed dictator *clavi figendi causa.* As a matter of fact, the *Fasti Capitolini* state that he was appointed dictator *rei gerundae causa* (see n. on *quaestionibus exercendis*, c. 26. 6).

§ 7 **Suessa et Pontiae.** The name of the place to which a colony is sent is generally put in the accus. after *deduci* if the place is an already existing town, but when the colony forms an entirely new community, the nom. may be used. Cf. XXXIX. 44. 10. The plur. *Pontiae* seems properly to have meant Pontia (mod. Ponza) and a few nameless adjacent islets. Livy, like Varro and Pliny, uses the plur. = Pontia. Conway, *Ital. Dial.*, I. p. 276.

Suessa, between the river Liris and Mons Massicus.

§ 8 **Interamnam.** *Interamna* (*inter* and *amnis*) was a name given to three towns in Italy, from their being situated between two rivers. Interamna Succasinas or Lirenas was situated at the junction of the Liris and its tributary the Casinus.

senati. This form of the gen. of the Fourth Declension arose on the analogy of the Second Decl. It is frequent in old Latin, and is found also in Cicero and Sallust.

sed, *i.e.* 'but' the choosing of the *III viri*, etc., was left to the consuls of the following year (*insequentes...Decius* in emphatic position, at the end of the sentence).

triumviros. The usual *III viri coloniae deducendae agroque dividundo*; cf. c. 46. 3.

In the singular *triumvir* ('a man of the three') is natural, so is the gen. plur. *trium virum* or *triumvirum*, but *triumviri* (nom. plur.), *triumviros*, and *triumviris* can be excused only on the ground of 'analogy.' The Romans seem regularly to have said *tres viri* (and perhaps *tres viros*); in the dat. plur. both *tribus viris* and *triumviris* appear to be admissible. Similarly with *duo viri*, *duumvir*, etc. (c. 30. 4).

CHAPTER 29

§ 1 **prius quam...decederet.** See n. on c. 26. 7, *nominarentur.*

patribus. See c. 26. 8, n. on *quaestioni.*

§ 2 **nec erat....** The expression is rather clumsy. Lit., 'Nor was

there...another race, whose arms, next to the Gallic invasions, were more terrible, both from the proximity of their territory and from the multitude of the people,' *i.e.*, 'Apart from the Gallic invasions, there never was in this period a nation more formidable in war, both from the proximity of its territory and from the size of its population.'

For *secundum* see c. 15. 10; there, as here, we have a condensation akin to Comparatio Compendiaria (c. 10. 3 n.); more logically correct than *secundum Gallicos tumultus* would be *secundum arma Gallicorum tumultuum* (or *s. arma in Gallicis tumultibus inlata*). Moreover one would have expected *secundum...tumultus* to be put in the principal clause; the order is probably influenced by such a form of sentence as *haec erat ea gens cuius secundum Gallicos tumultus arma maxime terribilia essent*. For the mood of *essent* see n. on *staret*, c. 16. 19.

Tumultus is often applied to a Gallic rising; also to any other insurrection or war which affects the city of Rome very nearly, especially a rising of slaves or a civil war.

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§ 3 **auctore senatu**, 'on the authority of the Senate.'

dictatorem. See Notes on the Text.

§ 4 **iuniores sacramento adigit.** Cf. c. 43. 4. Tr.: 'administered the oath to all of military age' (see n. on *iuventute* c. 25. 5). The abl. is instrumental, lit. 'compelled (bound) by the military oath.' For different constructions see the dictionaries under *adigo*. The administration of the military oath was a necessary corollary to a levy. At this time it held good only till the next year's campaign; when the new general took over the command a new *sacramentum* was necessary. It was illegal to fight without taking the oath.

By making all the *iuniores* liable to serve, the dictator showed how grave he considered the crisis to be.

elatus..., 'carried away by....'

quieturus nisi...inferrent, 'doubtless intending to remain inactive, unless the Etruscans took the offensive.' *nisi...inferrent* is oblique, depending on *quieturus*, which implies intention. The Oratio Recta would be *inferent*. *Vltro* (akin to *ultra*) = going further than might be expected, or than the circumstances necessitate. Thus it is used with reference to an aggressor, because he attacks unprovoked; he takes the initiative, not being compelled to act by a previous action on the part of the enemy.

§ 5 **neutri.** See n. on *utrosque*, c. 12. 5.

ad posteros, with *memoria*; tr., 'among succeeding generations'; *ad* = 'as far as,' 'down to.'

§ 6 **viam munivit**, 'built a road,' the famous Via Appia, begun in Appius' censorship (312 B.C.). It ran from Rome to Capua, and was later continued through Calatia and Caudium to Beneventum, and finally through Venusia and Tarentum to Brundisium. *Viae publicae*, public high-roads made at the expense of the state, were named after the censors who issued the contracts for their construction, but Appius Claudius seems to have been the first to name a public work in this way.

aquam...duxit. This aqueduct had its source between the seventh and eighth milestones on the road from Rome to Gabii; it was subterranean all the way, except near the *porta Capena*, where it was conveyed through an arched superstructure. It issued at the north-west end of the Aventine, and provided a water-supply for the low-lying parts of the city, the Velabrum, the Vicus Tuscus, and the Circus Maximus.

§ 7 **senatus lectionem.** Cf. c. 30. 1 and 2. The *lex Ovinia*, of uncertain date but in Mommsen's opinion not much later than the Licinian Laws (B.C. 367), enacted that the censors, in filling vacancies on the roll of the Senate, should choose ex-curule magistrates (or perhaps magistrates whether curule or not; the question cannot be settled from the scanty evidence available). In other words, such persons were to have the preference; any vacancies remaining might doubtless be filled by the enrolment of other persons who had served the State well; for it was important that the Senate should be kept at its full strength of 300 members. Appius Claudius, when censor in 312 B.C., enrolled some descendants of freedmen, who were excluded from curule offices (see c. 46. 1), and passed over a number of men (said to have been personal enemies), who were legally entitled to a seat.

magistratu se abdicaverat. As a colleague he might have nullified Appius' measures through the right of veto; he seems to have been afraid to go so far.

§ 8 **iam inde antiquitus**, c. 17. 10 n. The words go with *insitam*. On the characteristics of the Claudian *gens* see n. on c. 33. 3. There, as here, *familia* seems to be used = *gens*.

gerendo solus censuram. Often in Livy, and occasionally in Cicero, the abl. of the gerund is exactly equal to the present participle, and this use is sometimes carried so far that the gerund is

accompanied by an adjective or pronoun in the nominative. Cf. Cicero, *De Domo* 55. 140 *identidem se ipse revocando, dubitans, timens, haesitans* (though Riemann, *Études*, p. 308, is rather inclined to read *revocans*); Liv. II. 38. 6 *instigando suos quisque populos effecere ut....* The nominative, however, may be felt vaguely to be in agreement with the subject of the main verb of the clause. The gerundive with a noun is similarly used in the abl. = the nom. of the pres. part. On the death or abdication of one censor, the other was required to resign his office. See c. 34. 20.

obtinuit, 'maintained.' The meaning 'obtain,' though sometimes found, is not the proper signification of *obtineo* (*ob* + *teneo*).

§ 9 **Potitii....** Livy relates in Bk I. 7. 3 ff. how Hercules, after slaying the giant Cacus and recovering his stolen cattle, was seen by Euander, who had fled from Arcadia and established a kingdom on the Palatine. Euander, struck by the superhuman appearance of the demigod, asked his name, his parentage and his nationality, and being answered recognized the fulfilment of a prophecy made to him, in accordance with which he thereupon dedicated an altar—the *ara maxima*—to the worship of Hercules. Two *gentes*, the Potitii and the Pinarii, were entrusted with the supervision of the sacrifices at the altar, but as the Pinarii arrived late at the first sacrifice, the Potitii were made the chief priests for its performance (*antistites sacri eius*). See also Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 185 ff. For an examination of the evidence in regard to this worship of Hercules, see Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, pp. 193 ff.

The action of Appius is in keeping with his general policy during his censorship (see n. on c. 33. 3). The priesthood of the *gens Potitia* was an aristocratic preserve, and consequently Appius took steps to make the worship a public one, which might be performed by *servi publici*.

aram maximam. This was in the Forum Boarium, near the entrance of the Circus Maximus. Close to it was a round temple of Hercules.

familiare = kept in the family, 'hereditary,' used however with reference to the *gens* of the Potitii, not to a particular *familia* in the strict sense of the word.

servos publicos. There were several kinds of *servi publici*; the reference here is to the temple slaves, who had charge of the buildings.

sollemnia eius sacri, 'the forms of the holy ritual,' *i.e.* of the ritual connected with the *sacerdotium*. For the 'pregnant' use of

eius see n. on c. 12. 7, *ea spes*. *Sacri eius* is used in the narrative of I. 7 (§ 14); there are also some other repetitions of that passage here.

§ 10 **inde**, 'thereupon'; with *exstinctos*.

dictu mirabile. Cf. c. 41. 18. This expression is found in both Vergil and Livy. Both *mirabile* and *quod...possit* are 'in apposition to the sentence' or rather to the narrative contained in the following words *cum...exstinctos*.

quod...possit, 'Generic Subjunctive'; c. 16. 19 n.

demovendis...sacris, with *religionem*, 'a religious objection to,' 'a religious scruple against the ousting of sacred rites from their lawful place'; or with *facere*, lit. 'to create a *religio* for the dislodging....'

ad triginta, c. 27. 14 n.

intra annum, c. 18. 13 n.

cum stirpe, 'roots and all,' *i.e.* 'root and branch.' For the metaphor cf. *ab stirpe*, c. 34. 19, and the figurative use of *radicitus*.

§ 11 **nomen Potitiorum**, 'All who bore the name of Potitius' (cf. c. 19. 2 n.), *i.e.* all the *gens Potitia*; *nomen* = gentile name.

memori deum ira. Cf. Verg. *Aen*. I. 4, *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*. Livy may be once more borrowing from poetry. See also next n.

luminibus captum. So Ov. *Fasti* VI. 204 (also of Appius): *lumine captus erat*. Note the poetical use of *luminibus* for *oculis*, and the metre; the words might begin a hexameter. *Capi* (esp. in the Perf. Part. Passive) is often used with 'Abl. of the Part Affected.' *Oculis captus* = 'seized,' 'affected in the eyes,' hence 'blind'; *mente captus* = 'insane'; etc.

The story of Appius' sudden blindness will hardly find credence if we remember that after being censor he was both consul and dictator, and also that in 296 B.C. he commanded an army. The origin of his *cognomen* (*Caecus*) is not quite clear, and it is not certain that he ever lost his sight. See also the Appendix to the Eng. trans. of Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. I. pp. 501 f.

Chapter 30

§ 1 **eum annum secuti sunt**. Cf. c. I. I.

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apud populum, *i.e.* in a *contio*; unlike the Senate or a modern parliament, the *comitia* were strictly assemblies for voting.

deformatum, 'defaced,' 'polluted.'

ordinem, sc. *senatorium.*

§ 2 **praeteriti essent**, 'had been passed over.'

discrimen, 'distinction.'

ad gratiam ac libidinem facta esset, 'had been made according to favour and caprice,' *i.e.* 'had been dictated by partiality and caprice.'

citaverunt eo ordine.... The *lectio senatus* was not originally (probably not before the passing of the *Lex Ovinia*; n. on c. 29. 7) included in the duties of the censors, and there seems to have been an impression that it might, if occasion required, be taken out of their hands. In the present case we find the consuls claiming the old right of the chief magistrates to select their *consilium*, the Senate. In 216, when the ranks of the Senate had been sadly depleted by the defeat at Cannae, a dictator was appointed, *qui senatum legeret* (XXIII. 22. 10), though it is to be noted that he had formerly been censor. See Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, pp. 219 f.

ante censores Ap. Claudium et C. Plautium. Cf. *ante nos consules*, c. 8. 10.

§ 3 **imperia**, 'commands,' *i.e.* spheres of command, not 'orders'; the use of the word in reference to subordinate commands is unusual, but *imperium* has a very wide range of meaning, and it is unnecessary to read, with Madvig, *ministeria.* See Notes on the Text.

dari coepta, 'were first given.'

utraque, one would have expected *utrumque*; probably this is a case of *utraque=ambo* (cf. c. 12. 2), though Lut. explains it as due to the fact that each of the *imperia* was divided between two (in the case of the *II viri*) or more persons; but the plur. of *uterque* in the sense of 'each of two sets' (c. 12. 5 n.) is probably used only when the word stands alone, *i.e.* not when it is in agreement with a noun.

ut. The language here is unnatural, but intelligible. Livy in mentioning the two commands, the presentation to which was now placed in the hands of the people for the first time, is thinking of the two enactments which caused the change, and goes on as if an expression such as *plebi scitum* had preceded; cf. the end of the section. Perhaps he was misled by having used *imperia* before. *Imperium* in the sense of 'order' might be followed by an *ut*-clause, and Livy, forgetting the exact form of the previous sentence, may have used this construction by inadvertence. Tr.: 'it was enacted, firstly that... secondly that....'

seni deni, 'sixteen'; properly 'a set of sixteen'; such is the

primary meaning of 'distributive' numerals, which were originally substantives (*e.g. trinum* 'a set of three') and then became adjectives agreeing with nouns; thus their use in poetry as a substitute for cardinal numerals may be accounted for. Livy does not mean 'sixteen tribunes to each of the four legions,' for there were not more than six in each.

The *quattuor legiones* are the four legions which regularly formed two consular armies (n. on c. 4. 11). If there were at this time only four tribunes to the legion (n. on c. 5. 4), we must suppose that the people now obtained the right to elect *all* the tribunes of the *primae quattuor legiones*, while those in the extra legions were chosen by the consuls or the dictator. But Livy (XXVII. 36. 14) tells us of what was apparently an innovation, made in the year 207 B.C.: *primis quattuor legionibus populus tribunos creavit, in ceteras consules miserunt.* The most obvious explanation of this is that from 311 to 207 B.C. eight of the twenty-four tribunes of the *quattuor legiones* were still appointed by the consuls (or occasionally by a dictator), but in the latter year the election was placed entirely in the hands of the people. Thus it is very unsafe to imagine, as Lut. does (see n. on c. 5, *loc. cit.*), that at the period dealt with in Bk IX. there were only four *tribuni* in a legion.

a populo, in the *Comitia Tributa.*

perquam paucis. In the year 362 the people obtained the right to appoint six *tribuni militum.*

ferme, 'almost exclusively.'

beneficia, 'bounties,' 'favours'; 'went by favour of the consuls,' 'were in the gift of....'

plebei, c. 10. 1 n.

§ 4 **duumviros.** See n. on *triumviros*, c. 28. 8. The *duo viri navales* were not ordinary officers but a special commission *classis ornandae reficiendaeque causa.* They might hold office for more than one year.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the Romans had no fleet before the First Punic War, but about this time it seems to have been somewhat neglected; the Romans, however, now directed their attention once more to the sea; cf. c. 28. 7, the foundation of the colony of Pontiae; 43. 26, the renewal of the treaty with Carthage. In c. 38. 2, 3 we read of operations by the restored fleet.

ornandae, *i.e.* equipping with full crews, marines, and all necessaries.

iuberet. This verb is often used of the people's approval of a *rogatio*; it is also used, as here, with accusative of person, = 'order the appointment of,' 'designate,' 'appoint.'

§ 5 **dictu**, n. on *ictu missuque*, c. 19. 7.

praeterirem, properly 'I should be passing over.' Tr. 'I should have omitted.'

tibicines, the players of the *tibia*, probably a genuine Italian instrument; 'it was a short pipe played with a reed, and no doubt almost the same thing as the short rough oboes which are still favourites in Italy, and which are still sometimes played two at a time in the mouth as of old' (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 159, n. 3). The *tibicines* at Rome formed a guild (*collegium*). Their services were requisitioned at religious ceremonies, the performance of plays (especially, though not, it would seem, exclusively, of comedies), at dinner-parties, and at funerals. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* VI. 656:

Temporibus veterum tibicinis usus avorum
Magnus, et in magno semper honore fuit.
Cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis,
Cantabat maestis tibia funeribus.

The story of the strike of the *tibicines* is found both in Ovid, *Fasti* VI. 657 ff., and in Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 55. It may well be true in the main, though part of it seems to be invented to account for the peculiar dress of the *tibicines* (see n. on *ornati*, § 10), which was probably Etruscan in origin. On the whole subject see Warde Fowler, *loc. cit.*

a proximis censoribus, 'by the last censors,' *i.e.* Ap. Claudius and C. Plautius. These words imply that they were no longer in office at the time of the march to Tibur. Yet Livy in c. 34 implies that Appius held the censorship for the whole of the *lustrum*.

in aede Iovis vesci. The guild had the privilege of banqueting in the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus on the Ides of June.

adeo ut, 'with the result that'; cf. c. 43. 4.

qui...praecineret, Subjunctive in final clause; in § 10, where the same words recur, the reason of the Subjunctive is different; see note.

§ 6 **eius rei religio**, etc., 'pious misgivings about this incident troubled the minds of the senators.' For the gen. see n. on *iram diremptae pacis*, c. 8. 12.

miserunt. For the sudden change of subject see n. on c. 3. 7. The subject is *senatus* understood, so there is here a mild instance of *Constructio ad Sensum*.

ut darent operam ut. This double *ut* was not so clumsy in the eyes of a Roman as in ours. Livy has a number of examples, *e.g.* IV. 59. 11, *additum...ut decerneret senatus, ut....*

§ 7 **haud abhorrente ab ingeniis hominum,** 'eminently true to human nature.' The addition of a negative to a word often expresses the opposite idea strongly; *haud indoctus = doctissimus*, etc. This figure is called *Litotes* or *Meiosis*.

§ 8 **per speciem,** 'on the pretence.'

vino...oneratos sopiunt, 'send them to sleep by loading (filling) them with wine.' Lut. is hardly right in saying that *vino oneratos* here = *οἰνοβαρεῖς*.

ferme, 'as a rule.'

§ 9 **ita,** 'in that condition.'

somno vinctos, 'fast asleep,' 'enchained by sleep,' a poetical expression found in V. 44. 7, and in Ovid, *Met.* XI. 238.

oppressit, 'surprised,' 'caught.' Cf. c. 3. 1 n.

§ 10 **impetrato, ut....** Cf. c. 16. 5 n.

triduum, *i.e.* throughout the three days of the *Quinquatrus Minores* in June, the chief day of which was the Ides, when the *tibicines* not only roamed in drunken irresponsibility through the streets but feasted together in the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus.

ornati...vagarentur, 'roam about...in fancy costume,' long robes and masks: Ov. *Fasti* VI. 653:

Cur vagus incedit tota tibicen in urbe?
Quid sibi personae, quid toga longa, volunt?

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praecinerent, virtually oblique, depending on the sense 'it was ordered' which underlies *restitutum*. Cf. c. 24. 15, c. 26. 14.

Chapter 31

§ 1 **novum bellum Etruria,** 'Etruria—the new war—'; the apposition may be compared with c. 42. 4, *novum bellum Sallentini hostes*; there, however, we may have a case of Asyndeton ('the new war and...'). Some consider—perhaps unnecessarily—that *novum bellum Etruria* is too harsh to be genuine, and would read *Etruriae* or *in Etruria*. It is possible that *novum bellum* both here and in c. 42 is a gloss,—a marginal, or, more likely, an interlinear explanation wrongly incorporated in the text by a copyist. See c. 19. 4 n. and Index under 'Interpolation.'

§ 2 **Cluviani.** See Notes on the Text. The situation of Cluvianum is unknown.

quia nequiverat.... These words go with *obsessum*, not with *acceperant*. Similarly in § 5 *quia...erat* goes with *spe praedae accensi.*

deditos, not merely 'when they had surrendered themselves'; the word comes with great force at the end of the sentence, especially as after *laceratos* a second participle is not expected. Tr.: 'in spite of their surrender.'

§ 3 **antiquius**, 'preferable,'—a common meaning of the comparative. *Antiquus* or *anticus* (from *ante*, as *posticus* from *post*) means 'before' either in time (hence = 'ancient') or in estimation. Tr. 'deemed it his first duty to attack Cluvianum.'

§ 4 **Bovianum** (c. 28. 1), according to Mommsen B. Vndecimanorum (mod. Boiano), which seems to have been about 12 miles to the south of Bovianum Vetus (Pietrabbondante?). The latter was probably the *caput* of the Caraceni Samnites. [Conway, *Ital. Dial.* I. p. 183.]

armis virisque. Abl. of the Part or Thing Concerned, essentially the same as *luminibus*, c. 29. 11 n.

§ 5 **minus saevitum...praedae plus....** Balancing *haud tantum irarum...spe praedae....* Tr.: 'They vented less fury, then, upon the enemy, while....'

itaque. Before Livy *itaque* regularly opens the sentence. On the other hand *igitur*, which in the Ciceronian age, except in Sallust, is regularly placed second, often begins a sentence in Livy.

saevitum in, cf. c. 9. 18.

§ 6 **omnium principum in Samnio.** The stricter order of Cicero would require *omnium in Samnio principum*. See English Index under 'Order of words.'

eo goes with *intentae* and is explained by the final *ut*-clause. 'The attention...was eagerly directed toward seeking....'

insidiis. Dat. of Purpose, common in such phrases; cf. *locum castris capere*, *signum receptui dare* (c. 32. 10), etc.

si qua licentia...posset, lit. 'if in any way (*qua* is probably the adverb) through unrestrained freedom of plunder straggling the army ...could be....' *Si* and especially *si forte*, are often used in the sense of 'if haply' (Acts xvii. 27, R.V., 'That they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν), *i.e.* 'on the chance of,' 'in the hope that.' The construction may be explained by assuming an ellipsis,

e.g. occasione usuri si... (cf. c. 29. 4); or it may be accounted for by the use of *si* in wishes; *e.g. Exspecto; si* (*forte*) *hostes veniant!* = 'I am waiting: if only the enemy would (chance to) come!' From this primitive use the later employment of a subordinate *si*-clause might be evolved.

Translate: 'in the hope that the army, straggling in unchecked pursuit of plunder, might be surprised and surrounded.'

§ 7 **quidam....** For the reading see Notes on the Text.

oblati, 'thrown in his way.'

congruentia. Cf. c. 2. 4. Livy seems to be thinking of that passage; hence the addition of *quae et vera erant*; this time the tales brought by *captivi* were not only consistent but true.

vim, 'number,' 'multitude.'

perpulerunt, ut, c. 24. 4 and n. on *victus est*, c. 3. 8.

expeditae, cf. c. 9. 12.

§ 9 **nova res,** 'the unexpected occurrence,' 'the suddenness of the attack.'

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postquam...coibant, c. 26. 16 n., *ad fin.*

ut quisque. See n. on c. 6. 1 (last part of the note).

(se) aptaverat armis, 'had fitted himself with arms,' 'had armed himself'; a variation of the usual phrase *arma aptare.* It is also possible to take *armis* as dat. = 'for fighting,' as in Verg. *Aen.* x. 259, *animos aptent armis*; cf. 588, *aptat se pugnae.*

notis ordinibus. Abl. Absolute; 'as a long-continued military training had made them familiar with the arrangement of the ranks.'

in, 'in the course of'; hardly = a causal clause, as editors say.

struebatur. *Aciem instruere* is the usual phrase. See c. 14. 9, n. on *vellerent.*

§ 10 **ancipitem,** cf. c. 23. 4.

§ 12 **coniterentur...invadere.** Cicero uses *ut* with *conitor.* See n. on *adnisi sunt*, c. 26. 15.

ultimam spem...temptantem, 'trying the stealth of an ambuscade as their last hope.'

§ 13 **quem esse....** A thoroughly Livian sentiment, which might almost be set down as a motto for Livy's account of Rome's wars.

Fregellana...memorabantur. This is probably not an instance of sudden transition from Oratio Obliqua (cf. c. 15. 5). The sentence seems to refer not to the words of the general but to those which the

soldiers uttered to one another on hearing the last words of his speech. 'What place,' the general asked, 'can defy the Roman valour?' Then the soldiers began to speak of Fregellae, etc. If *his* in the next sentence refers to the general's speech, *Fregellana...memorabantur* may (though not necessarily) be enclosed in brackets as a parenthesis; but the word may refer both to the speech and to the thoughts and words which it aroused.

§ 14 **vadit**, c. 13. 2 n.

paulum, 'a little,' not 'little.'

agmen, loosely used for *acies*. Cf. c. 43. 2 *erigitur acies*.

§ 15 **prima signa**, *i.e.* the *hastati* with their standards; c. 32. 8. (W.-M.)

planitiem summam, 'the level ground at the top.'

palati. See c. 38. 3 n.

§ 16 **itaque ergo**, a rare combination in Latin of the classical period; cf. I. 25. 2, III. 31. 5; the strengthening of particles by combining two probably belonged to popular speech; see the latter part of the n. on *repetitae fuerant*, c. 1. 4. Collocations like this are more frequent in late Latin. Livy is rather fond of combining temporal adverbs, *e.g.* *tum deinde*, *mox deinde*, *deinde postea*. Stephenson thinks that *itaque ergo* may be 'a colloquialism, in which the original force of *ergo*, "in fact," has been preserved.' Livy uses *itaque ergo* five times in all.

ad, c. 27. 14 n.

Chapter 32

§ 1 **Arretinos**. The people of Arretium, now Arezzo. These also soon joined the hostile league; see c. 37. 12.

ierant. The pluperfect shows that the gathering of the Etruscan peoples had taken place before the finish of the events in Samnium referred to in the *dum*-clause. Cf. III. 17. 12 *dum haec...aguntur, consules interim...discesserant* (Lut.).

ab oppugnando Sutrio goes with *orsi* (cf. c. 17. 5 n.) 'beginning a great war with (lit. 'from') an attack on Sutrium.' Both this town and Arretium were on the later *Via Cassia*, and even at this time Sutrium commanded the approach to northern Etruria (hence *claustra Etruriae*). After being for some years in alliance with Rome it became, in 383 B.C., a Latin colony, and along with Nepete formed the northern boundary of the Roman territory. (See VI. 3. 2, with Marshall's n.) It was situated on the east side of the *silva Ciminia* (c. 36. 1).

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claustra, 'barrier,' 'bounds.' The singular seems not to be used in classical Latin.

orsi, adding another fact, = *atque orsi erant*; not 'having begun.' See n. on c. 24. 1, *magna parte dimissa novisque cohortibus...adductis* (a more common use).

§ 3 **maturarent traherentne**, cf. c. 23. 4, *victi victoresne essent*, and note.

traduxerunt, cf. c. 3. 4.

celeriora...magis. This is not a case of redundancy. Both the comparative adjectives and *magis* retain their meaning: 'when the speedier course pleased the generals more than the safer course,' *i.e.* 'when the generals had decided for the speedier (*maturare bellum*) in preference to the safer course' (*trahere bellum*). Cf. c. 7. 6 n. *Celeriora quam tutiora* might also mean 'more speedy than safe,' but the interpretation given above perhaps suits the preceding words better. In either case *magis* is not redundant.

§ 4 **tesseram dari**, 'the word to be passed.' *Tessera militaris* properly = a small rectangular tablet with an inscription, generally the watch-word for the night, but sometimes, as here, another message from the general; it was carried round the camp by a *tesserarius*.

§ 5 **consul ubi armatos....** Livy seems to be drawing on some poetical source in this passage. The following verses, though they do not profess to be a restoration of the original which Livy has in mind, may supply a possible setting for what seem to be unquestionable borrowings from some poem (if so it can be called).

Consul ubi armatos vidit ⟨pugnae⟩que paratos,
Signa extra vallum proferri iussit, et ⟨inde⟩
Haud procul hoste aciem instruxit. ⟨Sic propter⟩ utrimque
Intenti steterunt, ⟨si forte ex⟩ hostibu' clamor
Et pugna inciperet. ⟨Iam⟩ se inclinaverat ⟨hora⟩
Sol ⟨media⟩; ⟨non⟩ hinc telum, ⟨non⟩ mittitur illinc.

....

Clamor ab Etruscis oritur, cecinit tuba, ⟨arma⟩
Inlata; haud pugnam Romani segnius ⟨intrant⟩.
Infensis animis concurrunt, ⟨et⟩ numero hostis,
Romanus superat virtute.

This is not very poetical; indeed it suggests a metrical chronicle

rather than a poem; but it is no worse than many of the fragments of Ennius' *Annales* and of Naevius' *Punica*.

proferri. Cf. c. 43. 8, 45. 14; XXII. 29. 2, *signa extra vallum proferte*. See also n. on c. 13. 12.

exspectantes ut, either 'waiting till' = *exspectantes dum*, or 'expecting that.' *Exspectare* often takes *ut* in Livy, not so often in Cicero, only once in Caesar.

§ 6 **se inclinavit,** 'began to sink.' See n. on c. 12. 3.

inferuntur. Cf. c. 27. 12.

§ 8 **et,** 'and those'; cf. c. 6. 3.

ad prima signa...fessis, 'to the (standards of the) front division ...to the help of (to take the place of) the wearied.'

prima signa, c. 31. 15 n.

integri, c. 27. 9 n.

§ 9 **recentibus,** 'fresh,' = *integris*.

subsidiis, 'reserves.' The Etruscan army was not arranged on the principle of the Roman triple division (*hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*), as Livy seems to think, but the rear ranks could, of course, relieve those in the van. It is probably those rear troops, not the garrison of the camp, as some think, who are referred to in § 11 (*subsidiariis*).

fulta fuit, not *fulciebatur* or *fulta erat*; 'had the support of' at the moment when the Roman reserves came up. See n. on c. 1. 4.

ante signa. See n. on *signiferos*, c. 13. 2. In descriptions of battles *signa* often refers to the standards of the *hastati*; hence *antesignani* = *prima acies* = *hastati*; see c. 39. 7.

obstinatos mori, cf. c. 25. 6.

ita ut, cf. the use of *adeo ut* in c. 30. 5.

§ 10 **signum receptui.** See n. on *insidiis*, c. 31. 6.

ab utroque, *i.e. a Romano et Etrusco*; but one would have expected *utrisque*; see n. on c. 12. 5.

§ 11 **quod,** consecutive, lit. 'such that it was enough.'

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§ 12 **decesserint,** 'died.'

Chapter 33

§ 1 **Q. Fabius,** c. 7. 15, 22. 1.

C. Marcius, c. 30. 3, 38. 1, n. on c. 17. 8.

§ 2 **domo,** the regular Latin expression, though Livy seems to prefer *ab domo*. See c. 9. 12 n. and Lat. Index under *ab*.

Etruscis. For the dat. cf. c. 5. 11 n. Tr. 'on the Etruscan side.'

§ 3 **Permulti iam anni erant, cum...fuerant,** idiomatic, =*permultos iam annos...nulla certamina fuerant* (or *erant*); lit. 'there were now many years when (in which) there had been....' This is a frequent way of expressing lapses of time. For *iam...erant* see n. on c. 3. 2, *vincimus.* The *cum*-clause might have introduced the same idiom, as in Cic. *Fam.* xv. *multi anni sunt cum in aere meo est*='for many years he *has been* in my debt.'

cum...oritur, '*Cum* Inversum' (see n. on c. 24. 13), here used with Historic Present instead of the 'Aoristic Perfect.' The repeated *cum* appears more clumsy to English than to Latin eyes. Cf. c. 14. 6 (a milder instance), and (repeated *ut*) c. 30. 6.

ea familia..., *familia* apparently=*gens*, as in c. 29. 8, where the quality of *pertinacia* is attributed to the Claudii, not without considerable reason. Regarding the other qualities which Livy assigns to them, one may say at the outset that it is obviously dangerous to mark a long series of generations with the same label, as he does. Apart from that, Mommsen has striven to show that his characterisation of the Claudii is glaringly wrong in the case of the two most prominent members of the family who find a place in his history, namely, the Decemvir and the Censor. Scarcely has his account of the Republic begun when we find the Claudii described as *familia superbissima ac crudelissima in plebem Romanam* (II. 56. 7). This character sticks to them throughout; the son of the Decemvir is 'cradled in hatred of the tribunes and the *plebs*' (IV. 36. 5), and though the grandson of the same is represented as pleading that his family 'have not knowingly done anything detrimental to the plebeians' (VI. 40. 5), Livy is far from believing such a statement.

Appius the Censor is called by Mommsen 'the boldest innovator known in Roman history.' His admission of sons of freedmen into the Senate (c. 46. 10), and of landless tradesmen and mechanics into all the tribes (c. 46. 11 n.), is scarcely consistent with the Livian view of the Claudii as upholders of a strict patrician, anti-plebeian, conservative state-policy, and even Livy admits in c. 46. 10 that the censorship of Appius had brought new strength to the *forensis factio*, and thus made possible such a revolutionary proceeding as the election of Appius' former clerk, Gnaeus Flavius, to the curule aedileship. On the motives and the effect of Flavius' publication of the *civile ius* and of the *fasti*, see note on c. 46. 5. The action of Appius in the

case of the Potitii has already been commented on (c. 29. 9). Lastly, the refusal to lay down his censorship (c. 29. 8, cc. 33 and 34) is an action far more characteristic of a demagogue than of a conservative aristocrat. After his censorship Appius seems to have become milder and more moderate in his public policy. See the well-known paper by Mommsen, which is translated almost entire by Prof. Dickson, and given as an appendix to vol. I. of his version of Mommsen's *History of Rome*. Mommsen is rather inclined to blame Licinius Macer (see Introduction, p. xviii f.) for the falsification of the character of the Claudii. It should be noted that in the latest edition of his *History* he modifies the view taken of the Decemvir in the paper just referred to, and admits that he was 'originally a rigid aristocrat,' but subsequently became 'a demagogue and a tyrant' (p. 365, Eng. Trans.). Ancient history can show many instances of a noble supporting the masses against an oligarchic 'ring' in order to gain absolute power.

velut fato lis. See Notes on the Text.

§ 4 **circumactis**, c. 18. 15 n.

decem et octo mensibus. The *census* took place once in five years, and it is generally thought that the censors were originally appointed for that period. (So Livy, § 6.) That is very doubtful, however; it is not unlikely that the censors were expected to abdicate after performing the duties of their office. In 434 B.C. the *lex Aemilia* limited the tenure of the censorship to eighteen months.

C. Plautius...abdicasset. These words, taken in conjunction with the context, would naturally imply that Plautius held office for eighteen months; c. 29. 7 and c. 34, however, give a different version; see n. on *nolo ego...*, c. 34. 15.

§ 5 **in vulgus quam optimo cuique.** This variation is rather harsh; c. 32. 8 *ad prima signa...fessis*, is much more natural. See n. on c. 4. 8, *opera ac muniendum*.

optimo cuique=*nobilissimo cuique* or *optimatibus*; cf. 'aristocracy,' lit. 'government by the best' (*οἱ ἄριστοι*).

§ 6 **auctorem**, 'proposer,' 'promoter.'

laudibus ferret: cf. c. 10. 3 n.

ante, with *quinquennalem*, 'formerly held for five years.'

dominantem, 'proving tyrannical.'

§ 7 **facturus fueris**, c. 17. 2 n.

C. Furius et M. Geganius, censors at the time when the *lex Aemilia* was passed.

§ 8 Appius' argument—a poor one—is as follows: The *lex Aemilia*

was passed while Furius and Geganius were still censors. As it is a legal maxim that the latest law on a subject supplants any former law on the same subject, those censors, who had originally been appointed with full rights (*optimo iure*, see c. 34. 11), entitling them to a five years' tenure, were subject to the new law, which limited the censorship to eighteen months. But subsequent censors were appointed *optimo iure*; the *lex centuriata* (cf. n. on *legem curiatam*, c. 38. 15) which conferred their powers upon them was later than the *lex Aemilia*; therefore the *lex Aemilia* bound only Furius and Geganius.

§ 9 **quod postremum iussisset....** This provision was contained in the XII. Tables (Liv. VII. 17. 12).

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potuisse, corresponding, of course, to *potuere* in Oratio Recta ('they could not have been bound').

Chapter 34

§ 1 **Haec cavillante.** The Pres. Part. suggests that Appius was going on with his quibbling argument when the tribune interrupted him.

Haec is an example of the 'Internal Accus.'; it limits the meaning of *cavillante*: 'uttering these quibbling arguments.' *Cavillari* in its sense of 'to mock,' 'jeer' can take an accus. of the direct object, *e.g. tribunos cavillans*, 'jeering at the tribunes.' The rare meaning 'quibble' occurs also in III. 20. 4.

illius Appi. The famous Decemvir of 451 and 450 B.C. See n. on c. 33. 3, *ea familia.*

progenies, 'descendant.' The Censor was the great-great-grandson of the Decemvir.

in annum. See n. on c. 18. 13 *annum.*

altero anno, *in alterum annum* would be more strictly correct.

se ipse creavit. According to III. 35. 7 ff. Appius' opponents hoped that by making him president of the *comitia* for the election of the new *Decem viri* they would prevent his being elected, as it was contrary to established custom for a presiding magistrate to take votes on his own behalf. Appius, however, did not hesitate to set custom at naught.

For *se ipse* see n. on c. 2. 14.

fasces, c. 8. 2 n.

obtinuit, 'retained.' Cf. c. 29. 8 n.

§ 2 **continuando abstitit magistratu.** The ablative of the gerund or gerundive is not used thus with verbs till after the Ciceronian period.

obruerent. Here (as in most cases where the main sentence is negative and has its verb in a historic tense) there is no notion of an action designed or counted on or anticipated. Livy, however, has a fondness for the subjunctive with *ante quam* and *prius quam*, which sometimes leads him to use it without any real justification. If the subjunctive has any force in the present instance, it calls the reader's attention to the thought in Appius' mind which caused him to abandon his usurped rights. We may perhaps translate, 'before he saw that... were overwhelming him.'

male parta, etc., c. 9. 11 n.

§ 3 **Sacrum montem cepistis**, 'you occupied the Sacred Mount.' In 494 B.C. the plebeians, driven to desperation by the unjust law of debt, seceded to the Sacred Mount (about three miles from Rome, at the junction of the Tiber and the Anio), but were induced to return, as the story says, by the celebrated fable of Menenius Agrippa (see II. 32—33. 3, and Shakspeare's *Coriolanus*, Act I. Sc. I). Appius, consul in 495 B.C., had, according to Livy (II. 27. 1 ff., 29. 9 ff.), resisted conciliatory measures (§ 4 below, *faenebres leges...impugnavit*).

tribunicium auxilium, n. on c. 26. 10. *Tribuni plebis* for the protection of plebeians were conceded as a result of the secession to *Sacer Mons*.

§ 4 **duo exercitus.** In apposition to [*vos*], subject of *insedistis*.

Aventinum insedistis. In 449 B.C., according to the well-known story, Lucius Siccius Dentatus, who had been *tribunus plebis* and had distinguished himself above all others for bravery in the battlefield, was found dead, and his murder was laid at the door of the Decemvirate. The tragic fate of the beautiful Verginia brought matters to a crisis, and the two armies which had begun operations against the Volscians and the Sabines marched to the Sacred Mount, where they nominated tribunes; then, as the Decemvirate still obstinately refused to resign, they entered the city and took up a position on the Aventine. The Decemvirs were thus compelled to abdicate, and the *auxilium tribunicium*, protected by the old *sacrosanctitas* of the office, was once more potent in Rome.

For a criticism of this account see Mommsen's *History*, vol. I. p. 367, Eng. Trans.

faenebres leges. See n. on § 3.

agrarias. See II. 44. 2 ff., 61. 1 ff. (with reference to the consul of B.C. 495); VI. 40. 11 ff. (referring to the Decemvir).

§ 5 **conubia patrum et plebis.** A law of the XII. Tables issued by the Decemvirs expressly refused legal sanction to such unions, but in so doing it was in all probability merely formulating the existing custom. Marriages between patricians and plebeians were legalised by the *lex Canuleia* of 445 B.C.

interrupit, 'sundered,' 'broke off,' 'dissolved.'

obsaepsit. The Claudii are repeatedly prominent in the story of the violent dissensions over the question of the admission of plebeians to the consulship, B.C. 445—342.

nomen, c. 29. 11 n.

§ 6 **itane tandem...?** 'Pray, is it thus?' 'Is it really thus?'—referring to the words that follow. *Tandem* is often used to strengthen an interrogative, especially such a word as *quis* (*Quis tandem?* 'Who, pray?'). Cf. c. 9. 6 n.

cum, 'although.'

ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore, 'from the dictatorship of Mamercus Aemilius'; cf. c. 8. 10, *ante nos consules*; c. 30. 2. Aemilius was dictator when he introduced his famous law.

§ 7 **scierunt,** not *sciverunt*, which in Livy would be from *scisco*.

contrariae. It is very doubtful, however, if the *lex Aemilia* was at variance with the law which instituted the censorship. See n. on c. 33. 4.

antiquae obrogat, 'invalidates,' 'supersedes the old.' *Abrogare legem* = to repeal a law; *obrogare legi* = to invalidate a law by substituting a new one; *antiquare legem* = to reject a measure (to declare a preference for the *antiqua lex*).

§ 8 **hoc,** referring to the following infin. clause.

exlegem, 'beyond the reach of the law'; probably with a suggestion of the other meaning, 'lawless.'

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§ 9 **C. Furium et M. Geganium,** c. 33. 7.

ira finitae potestatis, 'anger at the limitation of their power': *ira* is Abl. of Cause; for the gen. with *ira* cf. c. 8. 12 n., and for the meaning of *finitae potestatis*, n. on *expiationem spretam* c. 1. 4.

belli domique, n. on c. 26. 21.

aerarium. The *aerarii* were properly those of the *proletarii* who were excluded from the centuries and tribes, and paid an annual poll-

tax (*aes*). Citizens might be degraded to this position by the *nota censoria*. These were, like citizens with full rights, liable to pay the *tributum*, which was a property-tax levied on the citizens, chiefly for war-purposes. As the censors fixed the rating of property for the *tributum*, they might and did in special cases arbitrarily increase a man's rating as a punishment for some offence. In IV. 24. 7 Livy says that Aemilius' rating was increased eightfold: *censores aegre passi Mamercum, quod magistratum populi Romani minuisset, tribu moverunt octiplicatoque censu aerarium fecerunt.*

§ 10 **iisdem auspiciis**, as both censors were elected on the same day in the same *comitia*.

§ 11 **ut qui...** = *ut hominem qui*; 'as one who had been elected censor with fullest rights'; this is a roundabout legal form = 'censor with fullest rights.' The phrase was used in the *lex centuriata* by which the censors received their powers (the *ius censurae*). The same form, or one very like it, had apparently been used in the *lex curiata* by which the kings were invested with regal power (cf. n. on c. 38. 15), and on the institution of the Republic it was continued in the case of the *rex sacrificulus* and the magistrates; cf. Cic. *Phil.* V. 17. 45 *sit pro praetore eo iure quo qui optimo* (sc. *iure est pro praetore* or *iure est creatus*); *Leg. Agr.* II. 29. Sempronius argues thus: Was not Plautius created censor with full rights? Are you the only one in that position? If everyone took Appius' view, whom could we safely appoint to an office? A *rex sacrificulus* might plead that being appointed *optimo iure* he had all the powers of the kings, whose title had descended to him. An *interrex* would claim that being appointed *optimo iure* he could not be confined to a five days' tenure; similarly we could not venture with security to appoint a dictator even for a peaceful object.

eximius, 'exceptional.'

praecipuum ac singulare, in the predicate: 'Are you the one exceptional person in whose case this holds good as a special and unique privilege?' *valeat* is Consecutive Subjunctive.

§ 12 **tu.** Addressing some member of the audience taken as typical of the whole. Cf. c. 9. 6, and see Lat. Index *s.v.* It is probably incorrect to say that this is a use of the 'indefinite second person,' as some do, explaining thus the subjunctive *crees*.

regem sacrificiorum. The more usual title was *rex sacrorum* or *rex sacrificulus*. When the Republic was instituted the priestly duties which had appertained to the kings were vested in an official with this title. Cf. the ἄρχων βασιλεύς at Athens.

crees, 'would you elect' (if such a view could be taken by him)? Tr. 'Whom could you then elect to the position of *rex sacrificiorum*?' Some would call this a Potential Subjunctive (c. 4. 12 n.). Where a question is merely rhetorical, *e.g.* 'Whom could you elect?' another way of saying, 'you could elect no one,' it is often difficult to say whether it ought to be classed as above or as a Deliberative Subjunctive, and Stephenson explains *crees* in the latter way. It is generally safe, however, to confine the term Deliberative Subjunctive to verbs in the First or (especially, but not solely, in Oratio Obliqua) the Third Person.

amplexus regni nomen. 'Taking hold of,' 'seizing upon the kingly title.'

semestri dictatura. See n. on c. 18. 13.

interregno. See n. on c. 7. 14.

clavi figendi aut ludorum causa, c. 28. 6 n., and n. on *quaestionibus exercendis*, c. 26. 6.

§ 13 **vitio creati**, c. 7. 14 n.

§ 14 **intra decem annos.** In c. 26. 7 Livy makes Maenius dictator in 314 B.C., but here he seems to assume an earlier date. As a matter of fact the Fasti Capitolini put Maenius' dictatorship in the year 320.

quia...exerceret, c. 2. 15, n. on *quando...esset.*

quod quaerebat, 'which he was investigating,' or 'on which he was giving judgment.' Cf. *quaestio*, and see nn. on c. 26. 6.

obviam iret crimini. Maenius uses the same expression in his speech, c. 26. 18.

§ 15 **ne degeneraveris.** For this form of a negative command see n. on c. 9. 9, and for the phrase cf. IV. 48. 10 *quod non degenerasset ab stirpe Claudia.*

nolo ego.... '*I* do not demand such moderation on your part.' The meaning is: 'Maenius abdicated for a special reason before the legal period of his office had expired; you have a special reason (the abdication of your colleague) for doing the same, but I do not ask or expect such humble moderation in an Appius; all I ask is that you do not exceed the eighteen months fixed by the *lex Aemilia.*' See n. on *C. Plautius...abdicasset*, c. 33. 4.

Nolo ego says more than *nolo* alone; where *ego*, *tu*, etc. are added as the subjects of verbs there is generally some sort of emphasis on the pronoun.

non. *Non* is sometimes used with the Jussive Subjunctive when it

negatives a single word in the sentence. With the Imperative it seems to be used only by Ovid.

modo. Cf. c. 3. 2 n.

§ 17 **iam**, 'already.' 'When it comes to this, it looks like monarchy.' Stephenson.

§ 18 **paenitet enim, quod...deduxisti, (et) gens...exstincta est, nisi....** 'For the fact that you have brought down...dissatisfies you, unless....' *Paenitet* here, as in early Latin and occasionally in the classical period, = 'it dissatisfies.' Its subject is the compound *quod*-clause, for *paenitet* is not really an impersonal verb. For *quod...deduxisti* see n. on *quod...exiit*, § 22. Tr.: 'For it is not enough for you that you have, like the pious censor that you are, degraded a worship of the greatest antiquity, the only one instituted by the very god to whom it is performed, from the level of a high-priesthood for men of the noblest blood to that of a service for slaves; it is not enough that a family whose history goes back beyond the beginnings of this city, a family hallowed by the harbouring of godhead, has been extirpated, root and branch, within one year, owing to you and your censorship; but you must needs involve the whole commonwealth in an impious act whose consequences the soul shrinks even from forecasting.'

antiquissimum sollemne...deo...antistitibus. The worship of Hercules in the Forum Boarium...Hercules...the Potitii. See c. 29. 9 n.

ab nobilissimis antistitibus, lit. 'from men of noblest blood as high priests,' *i.e.* 'from the high-priesthood of...,' contrasted with *servorum ministerium*. Cf. § 6, *ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore.* For the variation *ab...antistitibus*, *ad...ministerium*, see n. on c. 4. 8.

It is also possible to take the words as a sort of *Comparatio Compendiaria*, 'from a ministry of...to one of slaves.'

§ 19 **deorum**, plural by exaggeration. The reference is to Hercules. Livy does not say in I. 7 that the Potitii had Hercules under their roof, though they served at the first sacrificial feast, at which Hercules seems, from Livy's account (I. 7. 12), to have been present.

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ab stirpe: *cum stirpe* in c. 29. 10 (see n.).

eo nefario. Neut. adj. used as substantive. The 'impious act' referred to is mentioned in § 16, *triennium et sex menses...geram et solus geram.*

quod: strictly speaking it is the outcome of the *nefarium*, and not the *nefarium* itself, that *ominari reformidat animus*.

§ 20 **capta est**. That is, of course, by the Gauls. For this story see v. 31. 6.

L. Papirius Cursor, grandfather of the L. Papirius Cursor often mentioned in this book.

§ 21 **modestior**, 'more moderate'; cf. § 15 *modestiam*.

se auctorem, 'his initiative.'

§ 22 **quod**, 'the fact that.' Such *quod*-clauses, denoting a fact and forming the subject or object of a verb, are frequently put in the indic. where we might expect a subjunctive. See Roby, vol. II. § 1701.

§ 23 **pro**, 'considering,' 'out of consideration for'; properly 'in accordance with'; hence 'as the majestic and venerable character of your magistracy requires.'

gessisti. Sempronius takes care not to say *geris*.

non modo...sed ne...quidem = *non modo non*, etc. See n. on c. 19. 14.

inclementiori. The ordinary ending of the abl. of comparatives in prose is *-e*; the ending *-i* is rare in the prose writers, with the exception of Seneca.

§ 24 **in vincla duci iubebo**. In theory no Roman magistrate could be compelled to lay down his office; the tribunes, however, might, and often did, cause a magistrate to be imprisoned, but this right could not, apparently, be exercised against the censors. Sempronius might plead with some show of justice that Appius was no longer censor; moreover, there was a *religio* involved (§§ 19, 20) which justified extreme measures.

Vinclum is the older form of the word, but is generally superseded in classical prose by the longer form *vinculum*; similarly *periclum* and other words where the suffix is instrumental, not diminutive.

§ 25 **ita comparatum sit**, 'it has been so provided.'

comitiis censoriis. The censors were elected by the *comitia centuriata*.

nisi duo confecerint legitima suffragia, 'unless two candidates obtain (*conficio* = "make up" a sum) the legal vote.' The 'legal vote' meant the support of an absolute majority of the centuries.

renuntiato, 'declared elected.'

qui...possis, causal.

§ 26 **haec taliaque**, 'these words and others to a similar effect'; a frequent expression in Livy.

appellanti, c. 26. 10 n.

Chapter 35

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§ 1 **imis montibus.** Abl. denoting route, to be classed with the Instrumental Abl. The route lay at the foot of the mountains.

ducenti, sc. *exercitum.* This absolute use of *duco* is common in Livy, but is not found in Cicero or Caesar. Livy also uses *educo* in this way.

si qua. Cf. c. 31. 6 n.

§ 2 **subiecta late planities,** 'the wide plain at the base of the hills.'

aspreta, c. 24. 6 n.

obvertit : cf. c. 21. 5.

§ 3 **omnium,** neut.; cf. c. 6. 4, 8. 4 n.

abiectis missilibus. Cf. c. 13. 2 n.

§ 5 **igitur,** n. on *itaque* c. 31. 5.

scuta galeaeque ictae, n. on *expiationem spretam,* c. 1. 4. Latin is fond of putting before *cum* the subject of the *cum*-clause (cf. § 7).

neque...erat facile...neque missilia habebant. If Livy intends these as principal clauses on which *cum...turbarent* depends, the sentence is carelessly framed, as the *cum*-clause does not go well with *neque missilia habebant.* If we had had *esset* and *haberent* the construction and the sense would have been natural. Probably the simplest way to treat the sentence is to alter the punctuation and regard *neque subire erat...gererent* as a parenthesis. On Livy's use of parenthesis see n. on c. 26. 15—18, and cf. § 2 of the next chapter.

propiorem, 'at closer quarters.'

§ 7 **equites Romani.** Note that *equites* is not the subject of *petunt.* See n. on *scuta galeaeque ictae* above, § 5.

§ 8 **silvam Ciminiam.** See n. on c. 32. 1, and cf. c. 36. 1. In c. 36. 6 we have *Ciminios saltus,* in 36. 11 *Ciminii montis.* The reference is to the range of wooded hills west of Sutrium and Falerii ; at this time it formed the boundary of the Roman dependencies in Etruria.

Chapter 36

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§ 1 **invia atque horrenda.** This is an exaggeration. The *silva Ciminia* was passable in several places, and it is not unlikely that the

Romans had already made their way through in the wars against Volsinii (v. 32. 4) and Tarquinii (vi. 4. 8). Nevertheless they seem to have feared the dark mountain-forest not a little.

nuper fuere Germanici saltus. These words are taken by Niebuhr as evidence that the first decade of Livy was not published before B.C. 9; he imagines Livy to be thinking of the change wrought by the expedition of Drusus (B.C. 12—9), by which a considerable part of Germany, with its great forests and marshes, was made more accessible. It is very unsafe, however, to assume so late a date for the writing, and probably for the publication, of the first decade (cf. c. 18. 6 n.). Julius Caesar (B.C. 55 and 53) and Agrippa (B.C. 38) had crossed the Rhine, and the sixth book of the *Bellum Gallicum* gave the Romans some knowledge of the Germans. The wars in Pannonia on the German border (B.C. 35) also helped to bring Rome to a nearer acquaintance with some of the German peoples.

audebat, 'was bold enough.'

aliis omnibus. For the dative see n. on c. 5. 11.

§ 2 **tum**, *i.e. ubi de persequendo hoste agitari coeptum est* (see the last sentence of c. 35).

C. Claudium, matre eadem..., *i.e.* by an earlier marriage of the mother. The consul's father, M. Fabius Ambustus, died after 325 B.C. (viii. 33. 4). [Lut.]

§ 3 **Caere.** In the south of Etruria, near the coast. The Caerites received the *civitas sine suffragio* in 353 B.C.

Etruscis litteris. ['*Litteris* must mean "literature," "reading," "books"—liturgies and Fescennine farces, I suppose.' R. S. C.]

linguamque Etruscam. All competent authorities now agree that Etruscan is not an Indo-European language, and that the Etruscans (as the ancients themselves believed) came from Lydia.

habeo auctores, etc. ['I should think an Etruscan education was always possible to Roman nobles with Etruscan connexions, but never very common.' R. S. C.]

§ 5 **nec quicquam....** 'When setting about their journey they contented themselves with receiving a summary account of the character of the region which they had to enter and of the names of the leading men among the various peoples, to avoid the possibility of finding themselves so embarrassed as to betray themselves by some tell-tale sign' (lit. 'noticeable mark').

§ 6 **iere.** See n. on *vadunt* c. 13. 2.

pastorali habitu; cf. *pastorum habitu* c. 2. 2 n.

commercium linguae, 'their familiarity with the language.' Cf. I. 18. 3.

habitus, 'the character.' Contrast the use of the word at the beginning of the section.

sic...quam, an unusual combination, = *tam...quam*.

quod..., 'the fact that...'; cf. c. 34. 18, 22.

abhorrebat a fide, 'it passed belief.' For *abhorrere* = 'to be at variance with,' 'inconsistent with,' cf. c. 30. 7.

quemquam, used here because *abhorrebat* implies a negative; *abhorrebat a fide* = *non credi poterat*.

§ 7 **Camertes Vmbros.** The inhabitants of Camerinum, in the east of Umbria, bordering on Picenum. The Romans were more familiar with eastern Umbria than with the western part, and although it seems rather strange that the little embassy should have gone so far afield, it is unnecessary to suppose that a people in the western part of Umbria was called Camertes.

ausum. Oratio Obliqua, natural enough, as *dicuntur* has preceded, though of course one could not say *dicuntur Romanum ausum*, or even, in the most correct Latin, *dicitur R. ausum*. 'It is said that the Roman ventured' is in Latin either *dicitur Romanus ausus esse* or *dicunt Romanum ausum* [*esse*].

According to the punctuation in the text *ausum* = *ausum esse*, but it is possible that *ausum*, as well as *introductum*, is a mere participle, and that *Romanum* is subject to *egisse* but not to *ausum*. There is a similar doubt in regard to *acceptum* below; if it is = *acceptum esse* we have an instance of Asyndeton (*acceptum...iussum* [*esse*] = *acceptum... et...iussum* [*esse*]). The sense is the same in either case.

fateri...egisse. Livy leaves it doubtful if the Roman envoy knew the Umbrian dialect or had to use an interpreter.

consulis verbis, 'in the name of the consul'; cf. § 14.

§ 8 **intrasset**, corresponding to *intraverit* (Fut. Perf.) of Oratio Recta; this is the regular change. The subject of *intrasset* is, of course, *exercitus*, understood from *exercitui*.

iuventutem, c. 25. 5 n.

imperio. Before Livy the regular construction of *paratus* in prose is *ad* or *in* with the accusative.

§ 9 **praemissis**, *i.e.* through the gate remote from the enemy (see next section).

§ 10 **stationibus**, 'outposts'; cf. c. 21. 3 and n. on c. 13. 9.

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§ 11 **tenebat**, 'was in possession of.' Note the (to English taste) clumsy repetition of the same word in a different sense (*tenuisset...tenebat*). Cf. *habitus* above, § 6, also in §§ 11 and 13 *opulentus* used first of things, then of a person.

§ 12 **abacta.** The use of this verb shows that the booty consisted, at least mainly, of cattle.

§ 13 **rerum omnium copia.** Contrast *omnium rerum inopia* c. 4. 1.

§ 14 **serius quam ut...possent**, 'too late to be able.' Cf. the use of *quam qui*, c. 9. 14.

Chapter 37

§ 1 **motum latius quam.** One would have expected *magis* or *potius* before *quam*; 'was kindled more widely rather than finished.' The other comparative *latius* has caused some confusion of thought. Such expressions are not uncommon in Plautus.

namque, c. 25. 2 n.

sub, not 'under,' but 'down among,' 'down at.'

ora, personified; cf. *finitima* at the end of the sentence. This sentence is very poetical in thought and expression. *Ora*=a 'fringe' of land. 'For the land bordering on the foot of the mountain had felt....'

senserat. Note the repetition *senserat* (§ 1), *sensere* (§ 3), *sensere* (§ 4). See Eng. Index under 'Repetition.'

finitima, 'the neighbouring parts of....' See n. on *per omnia pacata* c. 13. 6.

§ 2 **silvis**, *i.e. Ciminiis.*

§ 3 **suo loco**, c. 11. 5 n.

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§ 5 **cum...iubet.** Cf. c. 33. 3 n.

§ 6 **paucis**, c. 8. 4 n.

scituros, sc. *eos*; c. 1. 11 n.

taceri. The trans. use of *taceo* is rare in good prose. Some other verbs properly intransitive are fairly common in a trans. use; *e.g. horreo*. With *taceri* understand *id* [*telum*].

§ 7 **quo**, c. 10. 9 n.

curati.... 'After refreshing themselves with a meal they resign their bodies to sleep.' *Curata* would have been more regular, as *corpora curare* is an expression frequently used in Livy.

Note the alliterations, *similius...simulabatur*, *curati cibo corpora.*

§ 8 **cohortes**, c. 24. 1 n.

§ 9 **sopitae quietis**, a sort of personification. See Eng. Index under 'Personification' for other examples. The expression has a poetical tinge.

passim, with *stratos.*

ad arma trepidantes, 'hurrying confusedly to arms'; *trepidantes* with *maximam partem* is a *Constructio ad Sensum.*

caedes oppressit, 'death overtook'; another personification. For *opprimo* see n. on c. 3. 1.

§ 10 **se**, referring to the logical subject; cf. c. 6. 6 n.

diversi. See references in Latin Index *s.v.*

§ 11 **milia ad sexaginta.** Evidently a gross exaggeration. For *ad* see n. on c. 27. 14.

eam pugnam...pugnatam; cf. XL. 52. 6 *ea pugna pugnata.* Without the adjective, however, the expression would be doubtful Latin; the same is true of the corresponding active *eam pugnam pugnare.* The Cognate Accusative is not common in prose, and is hardly ever used without an attribute except in legal expressions, *e.g. noxam nocere* (c. 10. 9), *servitutem servire*, etc. There seems to be no instance in prose of *pugnam pugnare* in the active, either with or without an adjective, but the passive is found in Cicero and Nepos as well as Livy.

Perusiam, mod. Perugia, a historic Etruscan border-town. North-west of it, and a short distance to the north of the Trasimene Lake, was Cortona, which still retains its name. Still farther north was Arretium.

auctores sunt, with accus. and infin., as in c. 16. 11, 44. 15; cf. *habeo auctores*, c. 36. 3.

§ 12 **a Perusia**, c. 4. 14 n.

Arretio. See c. 32. 1 n.

Chapter 38

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§ 1 **Allifas.** Allīfae, or Alīfae, mod. Allife, was situated in a fertile wine-producing district near the left bank of the Volturnus. It came

into the hands of the Romans at the beginning of the war (B.C. 326; see VIII. 25. 4). Livy nowhere mentions its recapture by the Samnites.

§ 2 **classis Romana.** See c. 30. 4 n.

praefecerat. P. Cornelius may have been a *duumvir navalis*, but not necessarily so (see n. on c. 30. 4). More than thirty years later (in 267 B.C.) the defence of the coast was entrusted to the charge of four *quaestores classici.* Augustus instituted two permanent officers with the title of *praefectus classis*, as admirals of the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna respectively. Even under the Republic the term *praefectus* was often applied to the commander of a fleet.

cum. For the position of the word cf. c. 35. 5 n.

Nucerinum, *i.e.* in the neighbourhood of Nuceria Alfaterna (c. 41. 3), east of Pompeii. According to Diodorus Nuceria went over to the Samnites in 316 B.C.

proximis, neut., =*proximis locis.* See n. on *de éo*, c. 8. 4.

unde=*ut inde*; the clause is 'final' like *qui...moverent*, § 12.

dulcedine. Cf. c. 14. 13.

§ 3 **palatis.** This Perf. Part. is sometimes used in the same sense as the Present Part.; cf. c. 31. 15 and XXXV. 51. 4, *palatos passim aggressus.* So often *usus.* In the Perf. Part. Passive this use is far more frequent than is often supposed; so regularly *vectus*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* VI. 22 *stat ductis sortibus urna*; *ib.* VIII. 407, etc. The ending *-tus* (Gk *-τός*) seems to have been originally 'timeless' in meaning.

cum, 'though.'

occidione occidi, lit. 'to be slaughtered with slaughter,' *i.e.* 'to be annihilated.' The phrase is frequent in Livy (cf. c. 44. 12); it suits his fondness for alliterations and assonances. The addition of the ablative strengthens the verb; cf. St Luke xxii. 15 ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν, 'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you.' The idiom is common in Hebrew.

§ 4 **Profectio...trans Ciminiam silvam.** Here and in c. 39. 1 Livy assumes the truth of what is stated as doubtful in c. 37. 11.

tam laetam, after *quantum*, which is=*quam magnum.*

cladis imaginem, 'as a picture (prototype) of the coming defeat.'

§ 5 **eadem,** *i.e.* the same as at the Caudine Forks.

ulteriorum, 'of further advances.' For the ambiguous form cf. § 2 above, *proximis*, § 10, *omnibus*, and n. on *de eo*, c. 8. 4.

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locorum iniquitatibus, cf. c. 27. 3.

§ 6 **quod...avertisset**, *i.e.* 'because, as they thought, fortune had removed....' See n. on c. 2. 15 *quando...esset*, and English Index under 'Subjunctive.'

§ 7 **armis virisque.** See n. on *iuventute armis*, c. 25. 5.

per Marsos ac Sabinos, 'through the territory of the M. and the S.'—a regular idiom in Latin with *per*, *ad*, *in*, etc.

petituri, si ..faciat, c. 29. 4 n.

si...non faciat, *i.e.* in the event of his not giving them an opportunity, not 'unless M. should give....' See n. on c. 4. 2.

§ 8 **obvius fuit**: cf. § 3 above.

cum, 'although,' as in § 3.

anceps, c. 23. 4 n.

adversae rei, 'a reverse.'

vertit, intrans., as in c. 17. 6. See n. on *mutaverant*, c. 12. 3.

equestris ordinis. This is termed an anachronism by W.-M. and Stephenson, and doubtless in classical Latin *ordo equester* regularly refers to the order of *equites* instituted by Gaius Gracchus (B.C. 123) on the basis of a property qualification. But the older Roman cavalry, the eighteen centuries of 'knights' with the subsequently added *equites equo privato*, might be called an *ordo* without a great stretch of language. Of the eighteen centuries of *equites equo publico* Greenidge (*Roman Public Life*, p. 224) says, 'this class was the *ordo equester* in the strict sense.'

§ 9 **ob haec etiam aucta fama.** 'On account of these calamities, which report made still more terrible'; *aucta* agrees with *haec*, *fama* is Abl. of Instr.

nec quin...diceretur, cf. c. 2. 5 n.

Cursor Papirius. Cf. c. 15. 11 n.

summa rei bellicae, 'a paramount influence in military matters.'

§ 10 **omnibus**, n. on *ulteriorum*, § 5.

§ 11 **infestus privatim erat**, 'was a personal enemy'; *privatim* is contrasted with *publico* in the next sentence.

§ 12 **patriae remitteret**, 'should give up for the sake of his country,' 'sacrifice to the interests of his country'; *condonare* is similarly used.

§ 14 **nocte...silentio**, 'at night, with undisturbed auspices.' The consul who was to appoint a dictator began to observe the auspices shortly after midnight, and if no unfavourable sign occurred, made the

nomination before morning. In the language of augury *silentium* denotes the absence of anything considered unlucky, whether sound or anything else (*e.g.* stumbling), which would introduce a *vitium* (c. 7. 14 n.) into the proceedings.

deinde. For this position of the word cf. c. 39. 2 and 8.

animum egregie victum. Idiom as in c. 1. 4 *expiationem spretam.*

obstinatum silentium. For other personifications see Eng. Index under 'Personification.'

obtinuit, 'kept.' See c. 29. 8 n.

ut, 'so that.' To translate it 'in order that' would spoil the passage.

§ 15 **ei.** For the dative cf. c. 5. 11 n.

legem curiatam de imperio. Under the Republic the *comitia curiata*, which had been the only assembly of the people in the time of the kings, was stripped of its old legislative and electoral powers, but still performed some ceremonial duties, including the passing of the *lex curiata de imperio*, whereby the people gave its sanction to the power of new magistrates, binding itself to obey them. This *lex curiata* was a necessary preliminary to the holding of a magistracy. (In the case of the censors, however, a *lex centuriata* took its place; cf. c. 33. 8 n.)

ferenti, 'proposing'; *pertulit*, c. 39. 1, = 'carried.'

triste, 'sinister,' properly 'gloomy.'

diem diffidit, 'cut short the proceedings,' lit. 'the day,' *i.e.* caused a postponement to another day. *Diem diffindere* was used also in reference to law-cases.

Faucia curia fuit principium. The votes of the thirty curies were taken at the same time, but they were reported in an order fixed on each occasion by lot. The *curia* whose vote was reported first was called *principium*. At the end of this sentence *principium* is used somewhat differently; *eiusdem curiae* (not *eadem curia*) *fuerat principium* = 'the same *curia* had possessed the right of making the first return.'

insignis, 'notorious.'

captae urbis. Gen. of Definition.

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§ 16 **Macer Licinius.** See Introduction, pp. xviii f. For the transposition of *nomen* and *cognomen* cf. *Cursor Papirius* above, § 9.

facit, 'makes,' hence 'makes it out to be,' 'represents it as.'

Chapter 39

§ 1 **auspiciis repetitis.** A magistrate had to 'seek the auspices again' in the case of a *vitium*. In the present instance the *vitium* had not occurred in the auspices taken before the meeting of *comitia*, but the subsequent bad omen was enough to upset the good auguries obtained before the meeting and to necessitate new auspices and another assembly.

ad terrorem, 'in view of the terror aroused by the leading...'; cf. c. 7. 7 n.

traducti silvam Ciminiam, cf. n. on c. 38. 4 init.

silvam. In the active *traduco* may take two accusatives, so one is retained with the passive.

ad Longulam. The dictator's army did not enter the city but halted outside it, as is shown by the use of *ad*; see n. on c. 2. 2.

The Volscian town of Longula was not far from the frontier of Samnium, and it is possible that the two armies faced each other somewhere in that district. In the opinion of W.-M., however, some Samnite town not otherwise known to us must be referred to.

§ 2 **neutris,** c. 29. 5 n.

oppressit, 'overtook,' 'suddenly came upon them'; somewhat similar is the use in c. 30. 9; see n.

§ 3 **in propinquo,** 'near (in the neighbourhood of) one another.'

§ 4 **Nam et....** See Notes on the Text.

§ 5 **Vadimonis lacum.** A small lake between the northern part of the Saltus Ciminius and the Tiber. Near it was fought, more than twenty-five years afterwards (B.C. 283), another great battle, resulting in the signal defeat of a large force of Etruscans and Gauls by the Romans under Dolabella and Domitius.

lege sacrata, 'under a law of ban,' a law whose transgressor was made accursed (*sacer*, offered to a god). The sworn compact by which the tribunes received their *sacrosanctitas* (c. 8. 15 n.) was somewhat loosely called by this name, and among many Italian peoples a *lex sacrata*, whether a formal law or a solemn agreement under oath, appears from Livy to have been frequently passed before a levy; cf. IV. 26. 3 (Aequi and Volsci), X. 38. 3 ff. and c. 40. 9 of the present book (Samnites), XXXVI. 38. 1 (Ligurians). In X. 38. 3 Livy gives us the terms of a *lex* of this kind: *ut, qui iuniorum non convenisset ad*

imperatorum edictum, quique iniussu abisset, ⟨*eius*⟩ *caput Iovi sacraretur.* The defaulter was thus *sacer Iovi*, consecrated to Jupiter (of the underworld, corresponding to the Roman Dis), and his life was forfeit.

vir virum legisset. In x. 38. 7 Livy, describing the Samnite levy, tells how, after sacrifice had been made, the men most eminent in birth and martial achievements were summoned by the general and conducted into an enclosure, where, on pain of death, they had to enter into a solemn obligation, calling down a curse upon themselves and their house if they refused to advance to battle, if they fled from the field, or if they did not at once kill anyone whom they saw fleeing. After this declaration ten were nominated by the general and instructed *ut vir virum legerent* [note the plural; cf. c. 3. 1 *fremerent*] *donec sedecim milium numerum confecissent*, *i.e.* each of the ten was to choose a man for service in the field, each of the ten thus chosen was to do the same, and so on until the required number was obtained.

quantis numquam..., cf. c. 37. 2.

animis. This is hardly consistent with the details given in c. 32. 7 ff., neither is the last clause of § 6, which implies that the Romans had hitherto found the Etruscans an easy prey.

§ 6 **tanto irarum certamine**, 'with such eager rage'; lit. 'with such effort (rivalry) of anger.' Cf. the use of *certamine* in the next sentence.

ab neutra...gladiis pugna coepit. Cf. c. 13. 2, 35. 3.

quod, the conjunction, 'because,' not the relative pronoun: *anceps* sc. *pugna*, not *certamen*. Tr.: 'It was with their swords that the battle commenced; after a fierce opening it gathered fresh force from its very stubbornness, since for a considerable time neither side had the advantage.'

ut, consecutive, as in c. 38. 14.

§ 7 **nihil...fugae.** 'There was no sign of (movement toward) flight in any quarter.'

antesignani. See n. on *ante signa*, c. 32. 9. The reference here is probably to both Romans and Etruscans; it is unnatural to confine it to the Romans. See the n. just cited and also n. on *subsidiis* in the same §.

fit ex secunda prima acies, 'a new front line is formed from the second line' (in the case of the Romans, from the *principes*). Cf. c. 32. 8.

§ 8 **ultimis**, 'their last resort.' Note the (accidental?) repetition *ultimis...ultimum.*

subsidiis, c. 32. 9 n.; cf. c. 13. 3 n.

adeoque, 'so truly'; cf. c. 26. 17 n.

evaserint, 'made their way.'

turbavit signa, c. 23. 15 n.

§ 9 **secuta**, 'following up.'

cetera multitudo, *i.e.* the infantry which had re-formed behind the cavalry soldiers.

§ 10 **vinci...coepta**, c. 7. 7 n.; but note at the end *capessere*, which is not harsh, as the infinitives near to *coepta* are passive.

averti, 'to be driven to flight'; cf. c. 19. 17.

manipuli, a Roman military term here applied to non-Roman troops.

ut semel, 'when once.'

certiorem, 'more pronounced.'

§ 11 **primum...fregit.** A strange statement for the author of **c.** 37. 11 to make!

roboris, c. 19. 5 **n.**

Chapter 40

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The victory related in this chapter took place in the second dictatorship of Papirius, 309 B.C., when, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, there were no consuls. As Livy mentions Fabius as consul in §§ 18, 20, he appears to suppose that the events recorded in cc. 33—40 took place in one year. Fabius was probably continued in command *pro consule*, as in 307 B.C. (c. 42. 2).

§ 1 **Pari periculo gloriaeque eventu**, 'attended with equal danger and an equally glorious result.' Ablatives of Description.

gloriae, Constituent Gen.; 'result consisting of glory.'

subinde, 'immediately after.'

in Samnitibus, 'in the country of the Samnites'; see n. on c. 17. 17 *Lucanos*.

novis armorum insignibus, 'with an unwonted splendour in their arms.'

fecerunt. One would have expected the pluperf. Livy is looking at the action from the standpoint of the time at which he is writing. This loose employment of the perf. is said to be absent from Cicero, but Livy has it in several places, *e.g.* I. I. I.

§ 2 **caelaverunt**, 'inlaid.' The gold and silver were confined to the inlaid work, the rest of the shield was of bronze.

forma erat scuti, 'the shape of the shield was as follows.'

fastigio aequali, 'with the top margin even,' *i.e.* it had no incision or projection.

cuneatior, 'somewhat tapering,' sc. *forma*. The Roman shield, on the other hand, was of the same breadth from top to bottom.

§ 3 **spongia**. It is best to take this literally of a corslet made of sponge, not, as W.-M., of a metal breastplate like a sponge in appearance; the passages which they quote from Isidore and Pliny prove nothing in regard to the present passage.

pectori tegumentum, cf. 19. 7, 20. 5 n.

quae...adderent, 'to give an exaggerated impression of their stature.'

auratis militibus. There seems to be a touch of contempt in this transference of the epithet from the arms to the wearers: 'the gilded soldiers.' Cf. *caelatum*, § 4.

versicolores, 'of shimmering purple.' The word is applied by Livy to a purple hue.

§ 4 **notus...fuerat**, 'had been known.' *Notus* is practically an adjective, and *notus...fuerat* is not quite = *notus erat* (contrast c. 1. 4 *repetitae fuerant*, and see n.).

horridum, 'of rough appearance.'

non caelatum auro...sed ferro...fretum. In these memorable words there may be a reminiscence of the famous line of Ennius (written, it is true, in a very different connexion):

Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique.

§ 5 **praedam verius quam arma**. Cf. c. 17. 16 *praedam verius quam hostem*.

ante rem, 'before action.'

§ 6 **decus**, 'ornament.'

§ 7 **magistrum eq.** The command of the *magister equitum* was not always confined to the cavalry.

§ 8 **simul** = *simul atque*; cf. c. 25. 5.

certamen. A mild case of Zeugma. The word has to do double duty: 'There was a great struggle with the enemy, and there was no less keen a struggle between the dictator and the *mag. eq.* as to which wing should initiate the victory.' For the second meaning of *certamen* cf. c. 39. 6. The indir. question *ab utra parte victoria inciperet* depends on *certamen*; 'a struggle to decide....'

non segnius. Cf. c. 32. 7 init.

§ 9 **prior,** c. 3. 10 n.

commovit. Cf. c. 27. 10.

sacratos more, 'consecrated in the customary manner,' in accordance with the *lex sacrata* (c. 39. 5 n.).

eoque, 'and for that reason.' The white coats and silver of the *argentati milites* betokened their self-dedication in accordance with the *lex sacrata.* Doubtless the *aurati* had similarly 'consecrated' themselves. The gold and silver decorations belonged only to the detachment of nobles in the army.

intulisset signa. Cf. c. 27. 12, 32. 6.

impulit. Cf. c. 27. 9 n.

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§ 11 **peditum virtuti equites...legatorum studia ducibus.** *Comparatio Compendiaria* (c. 10. 3 n. and Eng. Index). The arrangement is chiastic (c. 12. 4 n.).

§ 12 **M. Valerius...P. Decius,** *legati* (§ 11).

cornibus, more correctly *alis.*

evehuntur, 'ride out'; cf. *avectus,* c. 27. 11.

transversa, lit. 'turned athwart.' Tr. 'made a cross-charge upon the enemy's flanks.'

§ 13 **ad terrorem,** cf. c. 39. 1.

intulissent gradum, 'had advanced,' 'had pressed forward.'

§ 16 **ornandum,** *i.e.* on festive occasions. There were *argentariae* on both sides of the Forum.

ab aedilibus, with *ornandi.* This seems to be always explained as an exception (perhaps to avoid ambiguity) to the rule that agent with the gerundive is expressed by the dative, and Roby (II. p. lxxv) cites as a parallel instance XLIV. 22. 12, *a prudentibus...monendi imperatores sunt.* This, however, is not parallel, and it may be doubted if the dative can be used to express agent when the gerundive in agreement with a noun is equivalent to an English verbal noun with a gen. (*fori ornandi* = 'of the decorating of the Forum'), and does not express necessity or the like.

tensae, splendidly ornamented carriages in which the statues of the Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno (though she is not mentioned in this connexion by ancient authorities) and Minerva were conveyed in the *pompa circensis* to and from the circus on the occasion of the *ludi circenses.*

§ 17 **deum**, a common form of the Gen. Plur. of *deus*.

Campani. These must have taken part with the Romans in the battle with the Samnites and so have received part of the spoil.

ab, 'on account of,' a frequent use in Livy.

quod. For the 'attraction' see c. 2. 5 n. and Eng. Index *s.v.* 'Attraction.'

Samnitiumque nomine. The 'Samnite' type of gladiator was afterwards introduced into Rome. The chief characteristic of these *Samnites* was their oblong shields.

§ 18 **Perusiam**, c. 37. 11 n.

quae...ruperat. For the personification cf. c. 13. 8.

et ipsa. Cicero would have written either *ipsa* alone or *etiam ipsa*. It is doubtful if *et ipse* in this sense is found in Cicero (Riemann, p. 277).

§ 21 Note the alliterations, *devictorum...decus*, *populus proximis*, *comitiis...consensu consulem*.

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declaravit. An unusual substitute for *creavit*; it seems to mean that there was 'no uncertain sound' about the vote of the people; *universus populus voluntatem suam declaravit* (Cic. *Planc.* 20. 49).

Chapter 41

§ 3 **Nuceriam Alfaternam**, c. 38. 2.

cum daretur, 'when it was offered them,' probably after the capture of Nola (c. 28. 5).

daretur, noluissent, aspernatus esset. It is unusual in Latin to have as many as three verbs together.

§ 4 **tradita foret**, c. 16. 7 n.

primum. The warlike Marsi subsequently gave the Romans a great deal of trouble in the Social or Marsic war (B.C. 90—88).

defectionem. A rather strong word; the Marsi had hitherto been friendly to Rome, but were neither allies nor subjects.

§ 5 **Tarquiniensem**, n. on *Romane* c. 1. 7. The people of Tarquinii had in 351 concluded a forty years' truce with Rome (VII. 22. 5), which had expired when the Etruscans rose against Rome, as related in c. 32.

§ 6 **circumferendo bello.** Cf. c. 45. 17.

nomen, c. 19. 2 n.

§ 7 **stipendium...tunicae**, cf. c. 43. 6 and 21.

§ 8 **Tranquillas**, perhaps best taken with *Etruscis*. See Notes on the Text.

defectio. Apparently only the Camertes (c. 36. 7) had been in alliance with Rome.

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integrae, 'untouched,' 'unaffected.' See n. on c. 27. 9.

cladibus, 'disasters,' 'losses,' not 'defeats,' as the next clause shows.

nisi quod, 'except in that...,' 'save for the fact that....'

transitum. There is none recorded.

senserat. See n. on *plaga*, § 15.

§ 9 **ituros.** For omission of *se* cf. c. 4. 3 n. As *se* has already been used in this clause, the omission is natural.

§ 10 **magnis itineribus**, 'by forced marches'; cf. § 13, c. 23. 2.

agro Pupiniensi, between Rome and Tusculum.

§ 13 **ad**, 'toward'; c. 2. 2 n.

Mevaniam, a short distance S.E. of Perusia.

§ 15 **plaga**, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the district; cf. c. 37. 1 *ora senserat*. *Ager senserat* in the present chapter, § 8, is a milder instance of personification, as the land itself suffers from a *transitus exercitus*.

§ 16 **qua...qua**, c. 3. 4 n.

§ 17 **cursu effuso feruntur**, cf. c. 13. 2, where *cursu* has no epithet attached.

§ 18 **mirabilia dictu**, c. 29. 10 n. The plural, which is not usual, is employed because a number of details follow.

signiferis, *i.e.* the enemy's standard-bearers.

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ex acie in aciem, *i.e.* from the army of the enemy to that of the Romans.

geritur res; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 276 *vi geritur res*. The whole passage from *ante imperium*, § 17, to *aciem*, § 19, suggests a poetical

origin. *Scutis magi' quam gladiis geritur res* would fit into a hexameter line[1]; the following words may be transposed thus:

umbonibus hostes
Incussaque ala sternuntur.

Similarly treated the next words become *plus hominum capitur quam caeditur.*

The sentence *atque una vox...* may represent

Perque aciem totam fertur vox arma iubentum
Ponere.

§ 19 **ala**, 'shoulder.'

§ 20 **deditio.** An unconditional surrender, involving submission to such terms as should be imposed upon them.

sponsione, c. 5. 2 n.

Chapter 42

§ 1 **alienae sortis belli**, 'in a war which was outside his province.' *aliena sors* properly = 'the lot,' *i.e.* 'the allotted portion of another' (see c. 31. 1); it is here virtually = *provincia.*

§ 3 **eius**, *i.e. consulatus.*

abdicarit, Perf. Subj.; see n. on c. 9. 13, and, for retention of primary tense, nn. on c. 6. 13, c. 7. 5. A secondary tense would have been more regular here.

§ 4 **novum bellum, Sallentini hostes**; see n. on c. 31. 1 *novum bellum Etruria.*

Sallentini: a people of Calabria, whose chief town was Brundisium. They had probably plundered the territory of Roman allies in Apulia. (Lut.)

decernerentur: the use of the Imperf. here seems to show that Livy is alluding to the thought in Appius' mind at the time of the Senate's decision, 'as the war *is being decreed* to Volumnius, I shall remain here.'

urbanis artibus, 'by exercising a statesman's craft.' There is surely a touch of grim humour here. *Vrbanis artibus* is not a mere equivalent for *civilibus artibus* (x. 15. 12), 'state-craft,' but glances at another meaning, 'by affable (insinuating) wiles.'

§ 5 **largitor**: almost equivalent to an adjective, as in vi. 2. 12.

adiuvabat, 'enhanced.'

[1] Wölfflin (*Rhein. Mus.* 1895, L. 152) has conjectured that *gladiis* stood along with *geritur res* in a lost line of Ennius. Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 60. 2 *gladiis res geritur.*

§ 6 **Allifas**, c. 38. 1.

signis collatis, 'in a regular battle'; a frequent expression. For *signa conferre* see n. on c. 13. 12.

forent retenta, c. 16. 7 n.

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exiguum = *paulum*. This use of *exiguum* with a 'Partitive Gen.' is not found in any other classical prose writer, though it occurs in later prose. The same is true of *parvum* (XLIV. 26. 6, unless we read *parum*). For *exiguum* cf. XXII. 24. 8, XXVII. 27. 3, XL. 28. 4.

§ 7 **pacti**, sc. *sunt*.

ut: for the position of the word cf. c. 24. 4 n.; *qui S. forent* is the subject of *emitterentur*.

§ 8 **sociis Samnitium nihil cautum**, 'No stipulation was made in favour of the allies of the Samnites.' Most of these were doubtless allies of Rome who had gone over to the enemy. See n. on *Hernicum* below, and also c. 43. 5.

ad, c. 27. 14 n.

sub corona veniere, 'were sold into slavery.' When prisoners of war were sold as slaves garlands were placed on their heads; hence the phrase *sub corona vendere* and *venire*.

Hernicum. The Hernici had been subdued in 358 and had been at peace with Rome ever since. What now caused them to change sides we are not told.

§ 9 **quaesitum esset**, 'an inquiry had been held,' *i.e.* by the Senate.

dilectu an voluntarii, *i.e.* in consequence of a levy ordered by their state or as volunteers on their own responsibility. Contrast c. 10. 6.

dantur. For the sudden change of subject cf. c. 3. 7 n.

§ 10 **integram**, 'afresh,' 'as an open question,' 'without prejudice,' a frequent use of the word. For other uses of *integer* see passages cited in the Latin Index. The position of *integram* between *eam* and *rem* is peculiar.

§ 11 **concilium**, *i.e.* the common council of the Hernican states.

Anagninis. Anagnia was the largest of the Hernican towns.

Aletrinatem, etc. For the singular cf. c. 41. 5 *Tarquiniensem*, and see Eng. Index under 'Singular.' The name Aletrium = mod. Alatri.

nominis, c. 19. 2 n.

Chapter 43

§ 1 **Calatia**; see c. 2. 2 n., and (for the capture of C. by the Romans) c. 28. 6. Some would read *Caiatia* here (c. 2. 2 n.).

Sora; for the capture of this town in B.C. 314 (or rather 313) see c. 24.

in corpora...saevitum, c. 9. 18 n., 31. 5 n.

§ 2 **Anagninis Hernicisque**, with *bellum*; the construction is influenced by phrases like *bellum inferre*, *bellum fieri* (c. 45. 8), but we can hardly say that there is on Livy's part a conscious ellipsis of an Infinitive. Cf. x. 12. 3 *bellum Samnitibus et patres censuerunt et populus iussit*.

iussum, *i.e.* by a resolution of the people; cf. c. 30. 4.

§ 3 **inter consulum castra**, qualifying *loca*. The order which would otherwise be more natural (at least in Ciceronian Latin), *omnia opportuna inter consulum castra loca*, would give an awkward string of plurals in *-a*, and the phrase has also a sort of connexion with *interceperunt*.

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expeditus; cf. c. 9. 12 n.

§ 4 **incerti rerum omnium**, loosely agreeing with *uterque consul*, as if Livy had written *ambo consules*. Cf. c. 21. 4 n. *rerum omnium* is a somewhat free use of the Objective Gen. as employed with *ignarus*, etc.

sacramento adigerentur, c. 29. 4 n.

ad subita rerum, 'to meet any sudden emergencies'; *sub. rerum* properly = 'sudden developments of events,' and is almost, but not quite, equal to *subitas res*. See n. on *adversa montium*, c. 3. 1.

iusti, 'regular.'

§ 5 **pro**, in proportion to, 'worthy of.'

§ 6 **dictu**, with *dignum*; a rare construction, not the same as in c. 29. 10, 30. 5, 41. 18. *Mentione dignum* is far more common.

ita ut, 'on condition that.'

bimestri stipendio..., Ablatives of Price, 'at the cost of two months' pay and corn, and a tunic for each of the soldiers'; *bimestri* qualifies both *stipendio* and *frumento*, which are closely linked by *-que*.

§ 7 **reiecti**: cf. c. 20. 2.

permissum de Hernicis erat, lit. 'it had been entrusted about the Hernici'; cf. c. 20. 3, *de foedere negatum*, n. *ad loc.*

superior viribus, locis impeditior, Chiasmus (c. 12. 4 n.).

§ 8 **qua** = *qua via*.

cum, 'although.'

§ 10 **certaminis.** The use of the word *certamen* four times in §§ 9 and 10 is a striking instance of the Roman carelessness about the repetition of words. See Eng. Index under 'Repetition.'

§ 11 **ut qui** = *utpote qui*, *quippe qui*; frequent in Livy, but hardly found in Cicero or Caesar. Cf. § 19, c. 45. 10.

credidissent pares, coniungi...passi...crederent...: Adversative Asyndeton. See Eng. Index under 'Asyndeton.'

§ 12 **stativa**, *i.e.* the camp of Cornelius.

§ 13 **transversam**: cf. c. 40. 12 n.

§ 14 **compotem**, 'possessed of.' For the gen. with this word see n. on c. 2. 11.

ad se, *sibi* would have been the more usual constr.

§ 15 **qua** = *quacumque*, as in c. 3. 1.

dederat = *fecerat*; cf. the use of τίθημι = ποιῶ, ποιοῦμαι, and see n. on *dederant*, c. 15. 7. *Facio* and Eng. 'do' are both from the same root as τίθημι; cf. θυμός, *fumus*, and 'dust'; θύρα, *fores*, and 'door.'

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§ 16 **Marcianus.** See n. on *hostilis*, c. 2. 9.

omnia obtinet caedes, 'on every side slaughter is raging.' For *omnia* cf. c. 13. 6 n.

§ 17 **receptui**, c. 32. 10, n. on 31. 6.

in vicem inter se, c. 3. 4 n.

cohortes, 'divisions,' 'detachments,' of the Samnites; even when used of the Roman army at this period the word cannot be taken in its strict military sense; see n. on c. 24. 1.

§ 18 **victores vadunt.** Note the alliteration; for *vado* see n. on c. 13. 2, and compare c. 23. 14, 31. 14.

malo tirocinio imbuendum Samnitem, 'that the Samnite recruits must get a bitter initiation' ('baptism,' a modern writer might say).

§ 19 **ut qui**, § 11 n.

temptando certamini, dative of 'Work Contemplated,' c. 5. 6 n.; with *satis*, *ad* + accus. of Gerund or Gerundive is more common; see the quotation in the next n.

satis, with reference to a personal subject, as in XXI. 17. 6, *si ad arcendum Italia bellum consul alter satis esset.* (Stephenson.)

§ 20 **erigitur**, c. 31. 14.

et Romana...nec ..et. The first *et*=' also,' ' likewise '; for *nec... et* see n. on c. 4. 8.

§ 21 **pacis oratores,** ' envoys to sue for peace' (cf. *oro*=' pray'): Obj. Gen. Contrast c. 45. 18, *oratores pacis petendae.*

§ 22 **templum Castoris,** or *Castorum* (*i.e.* of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux), on the east side of the Tuscus Vicus. Its remains have been excavated at intervals from 1817 to 1901. [See Huelsen, *Das Forum Romanum*, pp. 128—130, Eng. Trans. pp. 151—154.] It was said to have been vowed to the Dioscuri by the dictator Aulus Postumius after the battle of Lake Regillus (Liv. II. 20. 12) and to have been dedicated by his son in 484 B.C. (Liv. II. 42. 5).

§ 23 **Aletrinati,** etc.; c. 42. 11 n.

maluerunt, sc. *suas leges redditas* (or *reddi*).

civitatem, *i.e.* the full Roman citizenship, not the *civitas sine suffragii latione* (§ 24 n.).

redditae, not ' given back' but ' given as their right' or 'duly given'; such meanings are often found with *reddo*; *e.g. epistulam reddere*=to deliver a letter to the person who has a right to it, ' duly to deliver a letter.' *Reponere* and many other words with the same prefix are often similarly used.

§ 24 **civitas sine suffragii latione,** also designated more shortly *civitas sine suffragio.* Many of the Latin states had been degraded to this status after the great Latin War. *Cives sine suffragio* were without the 'public rights' (*iura publica*) of Roman citizens, namely, the rights of voting and of bearing office at Rome (*ius suffragi* and *ius honorum*). They had, however, the *privata iura*, *i.e.* the rights of *commercium* and *conubium* either with citizens of other *municipia*, as such communities were called, or with Rome itself. There were two classes of *municipia.* Those of the superior class were self-governing, *i.e.*, they had their own magistrates and their council for the management of internal affairs. The other class, in which Anagnia was included, was governed by magistrates sent from Rome. But it is difficult to believe that Livy is correct in saying that Anagnia and other Hernican cities were deprived of the *ius conubi*, as such a deprivation in the case of *cives sine suffragio* is unparalleled. Possibly the historian, or the authority he is following, has in this point confused the *municipia* with the Latin colonies, which were interdicted from *conubium* with one another. See Taylor's *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, p. 154.

concilia. This probably refers to the councils in the separate

states (see last n.), but may also include the common *concilium* of several states mentioned in c. 42. 11.

§ 25 **aedes Salutis**: on the Quirinal.

consul, *i.e.* in his third consulship, B.C. 311. See c. 20. 7, c. 31. 1, 10 ff.

bello, c. 19. 9 n.

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§ 26 **tertio renovatum**, c. 19. 13 n.

Chapter 44

§ 1 **P. Cornelium Scipionem**: probably the person mentioned in c. 38. 2.

§ 2 **creati**, loosely used; see n. on c. 7. 14 *vitio creatis*.

L. Postumius, grandson of the Postumius who was involved in the Caudine disaster.

§ 3 **Piso**. See Introduction, pp. xvii f.

Q. Fabio et P. Decio; see c. 41. 1.

§ 4 **memoria**, almost certainly nominative. *Memoria fugit* (with or without an accus. of person) may have been a common expression in popular speech. Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 36 *ubi me fugiet memória.* W.-M. compare Fronto 1. 2 (p. 99 N.) *sed me forsitan memoria fugerit.* Latin, as is natural, more frequently speaks of a thing escaping one's memory than of one's memory fleeing; thus we find such phrases as *memoriam fugere*, *memoriā abire*, *memoriā cedere*, *de memoria discedere.*

On the reading see Notes on the Text.

binos consules, 'two pairs of consuls.' See n. on *seni deni*, c. 30. 3.

falsos, 'fictitious,' 'imaginary.'

§ 5 **campum Stellatem**, part of the *ager Falernus*, which was at this time peopled by Roman citizens; see c. 20. 6 n.

§ 6 **Tifernum**, probably east, or north-east, of Bovianum, on the river Tifernus; not to be confused with two towns of the same name in Umbria.

Bovianum; see c. 31. 4 f. Livy has not mentioned the re-capture of the town by the Samnites, which is here implied (see § 14).

8 **Marte aequo discessum**, 'that both sides left the field on equal terms,' 'that neither side had the advantage.' *Marte aequo* or *aequo Marte* is a common phrase.

inde, to be taken closely with *duo milia* (sc. *passuum*).

et ipsos; cf. c. 40. 18 n., and § 10 of the present chapter.

§ 9 **et ita erant**, *et*='and indeed'; cf. c. 16. 12, and see Lat. Index.

ita, often used with *esse*, especially in popular speech.

§ 10 **qua [duci] proxime potest.** If *duci* be genuine, it is perhaps best taken to refer to the use of a guide; tr. 'by the nearest way by which he can be guided.' But the word is probably a gloss, in which case we must understand *ducere* with *potest*: *qua proxime potest*=*ea via qua proxime* (or *proxima*) *potest.* For the use of the adv. *proxime* cf. *quanta maxime poterat vi*, c. 10. 10 n. In I. 23. 5 Livy appears to have written *ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest*, but the difference in MSS. between *qua* and *quā* (*i.e. quam*) is so slight that it is difficult to be sure of the reading.

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sedentem adversus, 'lying encamped opposite.'

§ 11 **auctore Postumio**, 'on the advice of P.' See Lat. Index *s.v.* '*auctor*.'

signa confert, c. 13. 12 n.

integris, c. 27. 9 n.

§ 12 **praepedissent**, c. 6. 4 n.

occidione occisi, c. 38. 3 n.

§ 13 **mortales**, rather poetical, 'common in Sallust, in Livy generally confined to speeches and descriptions of battles' (Stephenson), *i.e.* to passages meant to rouse the feelings of the reader.

§ 15 **mortuum quidam auctores sunt.** As the Fasti Capitolini mention only the triumph of Postumius, we must conclude that the authorities here referred to were right, and that Minucius did not live to celebrate his triumph.

auctores sunt, with acc. and infin. as in c. 37. 11.

§ 16 **Sora**, c. 43. 1 n.

Arpinum, between Sora and Fregellae. In its territory Marius and Cicero were born.

Cesennia. The position of this town is unknown, and the reading is uncertain.

simulacrum...positum, perhaps to propitiate the god for the slight put upon him by Appius Claudius (c. 29. 9).

Chapter 45

§ 2 **bellum parantes**, 'though preparing for war all the time.'

oratione ultro citro habita, 'by mutual discussion'; cf. Cic. *Rep.* VI. 1. 2 (*Somnium Scipionis*), *multis verbis ultro citroque habitis. Vltro et citro* is also found. The meaning of these expressions is very similar to that of *in vicem inter se*, c. 43. 17; they are used of any reciprocal action, not merely of speech; cf. III. 5. 11 *magnae clades ultro citroque...et inlatae et acceptae.*

de pace transigi potuisse, 'negotiations for peace could have been carried through'; *transigi* is here impersonal, as *agi* frequently is.

nunc, 'as matters stood': the use of this word in Or. Obl. after a secondary tense, like the fairly frequent use of *hic*, recalls the original words vividly; *fuerint* has a similar effect (c. 6. 13 n.).

ad id locorum, 'up to that time'; cf. XXII. 38. 12, etc., Sall. *Iug.* 63. 6, 72. 2. So in Eng. 'up to that point' might refer either to place or to time; cp. the uses of *spatium*, Eng. 'space,' *ubi*='where' or 'when.' Sallust (*Iug.* 102. 1) has *postea loci=postea*, and in Ter. *Eun.* 126 *interea loci* is used=*interea*. In c. 15. 1 *ad id=ad id locorum.*

rebus standum esse, 'they must take their stand on,' *i.e.* 'depend on,' 'go by facts'; *rebus*=ἔργοις, opposed to *verba*, λόγοι.

§ 3 **brevi**=*brevi tempore*, not, of course, agreeing with *exercitu.*

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§ 4 **foedus antiquum**; similarly in VIII. 2. 1 of the end of the First Samnite War, *cum...reddendum eis foedus patres censuissent.* What the terms of this 'old treaty' in its renewed form were Livy does not say. In VII. 19. 4 we are told that 'the Roman successes in the field induced the Samnites also to seek their friendship. A courteous reply was given to the ambassadors of that nation, which was then received into alliance.' By speaking of the restoration of the old agreement Livy implies that the terms obtained by the Samnites in 304 B.C. were very favourable.

§ 5 **per multos annos**: since 388 B.C.; see VI. 4. 8.

sub specie, 'under cover of.'

Hernico nomine, c. 42. 11, c. 19. 2 n.

missitaverant, 'had repeatedly sent.' This is the only instance of the word in Livy. For the circumstances see c. 42. 8, where, however, there is no mention of the Aequi.

§ 6 **post Hernicos subactos**: c. 1. 4, n. on *expiationem spretam*, and below § 8 *ob haec...iactata.*

postquam...venerant...aiebant, *aiebant* = 'they kept saying.' With an imperfect in the principal clause *postquam* may take the Pluperf. Indicative. Cf. XXII. 23. 3 (*cunctatio*) *contempta erat* (*contempta* is here practically an adj.)...*postquam...pugnatum fuerat.*

§ 7 **temptationem ut...**, 'an attempt to make them submit to becoming....'

suas leges...praeoptaverint, c. 43. 23.

§ 8 **pro poena...fore,** 'would amount to a punishment.' For *pro* cf. c. 11. 4 n.

conciliis, c. 43. 24 n.

§ 10 **ut qui,** c. 43. 11 n.; the antecedent of *qui* is *Aequorum*, not *exercitus.*

suo nomine...imbelles, 'without any war waged on their own responsibility' ('as an independent state').

imbelles, probably to be taken with *annos*; cf. X. 1. 4 *imbellem agerent annum.*

§ 11 **cum levibus praesidiis,** with *relictarum.*

§ 12 **communium**: n. on *de eo*, c. 8. 4.

§ 13 **ut...**, explaining *una* (*sententia*).

diversi: c. 2. 2 n.

deportanda, *sc.* from the fields and farms to the towns.

§ 14 **palatis.** See c. 38. 3 n.; but here the word may have a past meaning.

signis prolatis, c. 32. 5 n., 43. 8.

ubi...ibat, imperf. with *ubi* to denote continuance, as after *postquam* (c. 26. 16 n.): they remained unopposed all the time.

pleno gradu, 'quick march,' lit. 'with full step'; cf. the Eng. 'full speed.'

§ 15 **stationes**: c. 13. 9 n.

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§ 16 **vestigiis...vestigia.** Such a repetition at the beginning of a sentence of a word used in the previous one is a common Latin idiom.

ferentia; cf. the use of the verb with *via*, c. 2. 6 n.

ut in dilapsis passim, as (is natural) in the case of men that have slipped away in all directions, 'as one would expect when men have dispersed in all directions.' This meaning of *ut* is very common.

errorem, 'perplexity.'

§ 17 **circumferendo bello**: cf. c. 41. 6.

nomen, c. 19. 2 n.

ad internecionem, c. 26. 2.

§ 18 **exemplo**, Predicative Dat., 'a warning example.' *ut*, 'so that.'

oratores pacis petendae = *or. pacis*, c. 43. 21. The gen. in c. 43 is objective, 'suitors for peace,' here it simply denotes connexion (n. on *iram diremptae pacis*, c. 8. 12); 'ambassadors' (a not uncommon meaning of *oratores*) 'concerned with seeking peace,' *i.e.* 'ambassadors to sue for peace.' The rare gen. of purpose was probably developed from expressions like this used in the predicate; see n. on c. 9. 19.

Chapter 46

Some of the items in this chapter are related also by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXIII. I. 17—19 and by the annalist Piso, quoted by Gellius, VII. (VI.) 9. The language of the latter is so like Livy's in parts that it is probable that Livy has borrowed from Piso's chronicle.

§ 1 **scriba** signified a government clerk, attached to the Senate or to officials. The work of the *scribae*, like that of our Civil Service clerks and private secretaries, often required considerable skill and knowledge. Though many of them were slaves, the most important of them seem to have occupied a respectable position. They were, however, paid servants (*mercennarii*), and therefore were not allowed to hold a magistracy unless they ceased to hold their clerkships (*scriptum facere*, § 2).

libertino. The term *libertinus* might be applied to the son of a freedman (Suetonius, *Claud.* 24), and it is possible that Flavius' father was freeborn; but even if this was the case the election of Flavius was without precedent.

§ 2 **quibusdam annalibus**, *e.g.* those of Piso.

appareret, 'was in attendance on.' *Scribae* came under the class of *apparitores*, of which they were the most important members; see n. on c. 10. 7. Flavius on this occasion accompanied the aediles as a secretary at the elections.

pro tribu: also in Piso (ap. Gell., *loc. cit.*). The reason of the singular *tribu* is doubtful. Perhaps it refers to the tribe which voted first (*principium*), but it seems more likely that *pro tribu* is a technical phrase whose meaning cannot be precisely determined. Possibly the returning officers, in announcing to the presiding magistrate the result of the voting in the individual tribes, used a formula in which occurred the words *pro tribu*, followed by the name of the particular

tribe whose vote was being reported (*referri*), *e.g. pro tribu Aemilia Cn. Flavium refero*, 'on behalf of the Aemilian tribe I return the name of Cn. Flavius.' Thus *pro tribu* might become a stereotyped phrase, and be used with *fieri* to express the formal election of a magistrate in the *comitia tributa*. If this view is correct, the present *fieri* is used either because the result was obvious before the votes of all the tribes were returned (='that he was being elected'), or because the election was not consummated (='that he was in the way of being elected,'—a fairly common use of the pres.; he could not consider *se factum esse* till the presiding aedile accepted him as elected).

Tr. 'that the votes of the tribes were going in his favour.'

neque, 'but not'; cf. *nec*, c. 8. 7.

accipi nomen, i.e. by the presiding magistrate, who was on this occasion an aedile. More commonly a consul or a praetor presided over the *comitia tributa*.

tabulam, 'his writing-tablet,' which he was using in his capacity as secretary.

§ 3 **Macer Licinius**: c. 38. 16.

tribunatu, sc. *plebei* (Plin., *loc. cit.*); mentioned before the triumvirates as being a more important office. There are several instances in Roman history of the tribunate of the plebs being held before the curule aedileship (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*³ I. p. 551, n. 3).

ante: *additum Flavio, ut simul et tribunus plebei esset*, Plin. If Pliny means that Flavius held both offices at the same time (and everyone, including Mommsen, seems to interpret it thus), we need have no hesitation in dismissing the statement as absurd, for both general probability and ancient evidence forbid us to believe in such a combination of offices (Mommsen, *Str.*³ I. p. 516 f.). Lut. adopts a desperate remedy by suggesting that, as the tribunes took office on Dec. 10 and the aediles on Dec. 1, Flavius might have been both tribune and aedile from the 1st to the 9th of December, B.C. 304. It is just possible, however, that *simul et* in the passage from Pliny means simply 'also,' 'as well.'

nocturno. *Tresviri nocturni* was a popular designation of the *tresviri capitales*, with special reference to their duties as superintendents of the night police (*vigiles nocturni*), in which capacity they patrolled the city by night, arrested and punished marauders, and directed the *vigiles* in extinguishing fires. This triumvirate was not a regular institution till about 289 B.C., and perhaps did not exist before that date; in any case the *tresviri capitales* were not chosen by the

people before the year 242, and therefore they cannot have ranked as magistrates at the time in question; so that Flavius while still a *scriba* might conceivably have held the *triumviratus* without violating the law. The whole statement of Macer, however, is suspicious, and indeed his authority in general is slight, as Mommsen points out (*Str.*[3] II. 1, p. 594).

coloniae deducendae, prob. dat. (of 'work contemplated'), as usual with *tresviri*, etc. Suet. *Aug.* 37, however, has a gen. with *triumviratus*, as W.-M. mention.

§ 4 **discrepat**, opp. *convenit*; cf. III. 31. 8 *cum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet.*

contumacia, Abl. of Manner without attribute (c. 2. 2 n.) = 'persistently,' or Abl. of Instr., 'by his stubborn persistence.'

§ 5 **civile ius** etc. refers not to the civil law as contained in the XII. Tables, but to the *legis actiones*, *i.e.*, the forms and formulae according to which lawsuits must be instituted. Any deviation from these was enough to quash an action at law. The *pontifices* had the sole knowledge and control of these rules, and it was to them that anyone wishing to lodge a prosecution had to apply for instructions. Thus all legal proceedings were under the ultimate control of a few patrician officials, and in addition to the exclusiveness of the system it involved much inconvenience, and it was doubtless liable to be abused when it suited the *pontifices* or their friends to obstruct the course of justice.

After the publication of the *legis actiones* by Flavius (the so-called *ius Flavianum*) a knowledge of legal forms became less and less a preserve of the pontiffs, and laymen (*iuris consulti*) began to give advice on legal matters.

in penetralibus pontificum. *Penetralia* may refer to any inner room where food or valuables could be safely stored, and Livy is possibly thinking of the dwellings of the various pontiffs. It is more likely, however, that he refers to the *Regia*, the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, where the official books of the Pontiffs (*libri pontificii*, *libri pontificales*) were kept. Tr. 'among the secret archives of the Pontiffs.'

fastos. The official calendar for the year, arranged by the *pontifices*. It contained a list of the *dies fasti* (days on which trials might be held) and the *dies nefasti*. The knowledge of these days was restricted to a few nobles, to whom the people had to apply for information when they wished to go to law; cf. Plin., *loc. cit.* § 17

publicatis diebus fastis, quos populus a paucis principum cottidie petebat.

in albo, collective, 'on notice-boards'; with this interpretation *circa* has its usual sense, 'around.' *Album* denoted a whitened board on which public notices were written.

In making the two innovations mentioned in this sentence Flavius was doubtless acting in collusion with Appius. He had gathered the necessary information at an earlier time when acting as *scriba* to Appius, who was one of the *pontifices* (Plin., *loc. cit.* § 17).

proposuit: Cic. *Att.* VI. 1. 8 *Quid ergo profecit, quod* [*Flavius*] *protulit fastos? Occultatam putant quodam tempore istam tabulam* [*i.e.* one of the XII. Tables] *ut dies agendi peterentur a paucis*. These words led Mommsen (*Chron.* 30 f.) to conjecture that the *fasti* had been included in one of the last two Tables, but that the patricians had withdrawn them.

According to Pliny it was to the publication of the *fasti* that Flavius owed his election by the people to the aedileship.

lege agi posset, 'a suit might be instituted.'

§ 6 **aedem Concordiae.** In recognition of the reconciliation of the orders brought about by the *leges Liciniae Sextiae*, the dictator M. Furius Camillus in 366 B.C. dedicated a temple to the goddess Concordia on the Clivus Capitolinus above the Comitium. This temple was several times restored and decorated, and became one of the most splendid of Rome's sacred edifices. Flavius, according to Pliny, vowed a temple to Concordia in the event of his reconciling the different classes of the people to one another; the authorities, however, refused a grant from the Treasury for the purpose, so he contented himself with condemning some usurers to pay small fines, which he used to build a small shrine (*aedicula*) of bronze.

area Vulcani, an open space above the Comitium, not far from the great Temple of Concord.

summa invidia, so-called Abl. of Circumstance (c. 2. 2 n.).

Cornelius, c. 44. 1.

verba, the formula of dedication.

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more maiorum, with *posse dedicare.*

negaret, sc. *quemquam.*

imperatorem. Only one with *imperium* (consul, praetor, or dictator) could be a commander-in-chief.

posse. The people, however, might appoint *duoviri aedi aedificandae* to carry out the building and dedication of a temple (VII. 28. 5).

§ 7 **partis maioris**, with *trib. pl.*, not with *senatus*.

§ 8 **haud memorabilem...nisi documentum sit.** The construction is elliptical: 'an incident not in itself worthy of mention (and one which would not be mentioned here) were it not likely to serve as an evidence ....' *Esset* would be more natural here than *sit*.

adversus superbiam nobilium, qualifying *libertatis*.

§ 9 **collegam.** The other *aedilis curulis* was Q. Anicius Praenestinus.

consensu, here Abl. of Cause, somewhat different from the use in § 6, *coactus consensu*, 'compelled by the united will.'

adsidebant. Cf. XXI. 53. 6 *adsidens aegro collegae*, 'sitting by his colleague's sick bed.'

adsurrectum. *Adsurgere* is often used of rising in a person's honour.

sede honoris sui, 'his official seat.' For *honoris* cf. c. 26. 11. According to Piso, quoted by Gellius, Flavius had the *sella curulis* placed in the doorway of the sick-room, 'that none of the nobles might be able to leave, and that they might all be compelled against their will to see him sitting on the curule chair.'

anxios invidia, 'choking with enmity.' The same phrase is used (probably copied) by Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 14.

§ 10 **Ceterum**, resuming after a digression the narrative of § 1. 'The mob of the market-place, then,....'

factio, generally used of a revolutionary or dangerous faction. The same party is referred to in § 11 *urbanis humilibus*.

senatum...libertinorum filiis.... See c. 29. 7 n., and for *libertinus* n. on § 1 of the present chapter.

lectis: cf. *lectionem*, c. 29. 7.

§ 11 **adeptus erat**: *ad. est* might have been expected; the Pluperf. is probably due to the influence of the following *petierat*, but it may be explained as an instance of the use regular in clauses which denote an action which had taken place and whose effect still continued; thus *posteaquam non adeptus erat* = when he had failed to obtain and still lacked. Compare the use of *postquam* with an Imperfect, c. 26. 16 n.

urbanis humilibus per omnes tribus divisis. By *urbanis humilibus* Livy means the city tradesmen and craftsmen who were hitherto almost excluded from the public rights of Roman citizens. Most of them were doubtless *libertini* in some sense of the word (§ 1 n.). The possession of land was a necessary preliminary to the full *civitas*. In

the *comitia centuriata* those who were not land-owners were relegated to the *centuria capite censorum*, where they had for company those land-owners whose property fell below the limit of 11,000 *asses*. The landless were also debarred from service in the army, and it is doubtful if they were enrolled in the tribes. The time had come for these disabilities to cease. The Roman tradesman or craftsman was sometimes wealthier than many of those who had a share in the two *comitia*, and he must now be recognized as a citizen with full rights. Accordingly Appius Claudius caused every non-freeholder to be enrolled in a tribe, 'urban' or 'rustic,' irrespective of his place of residence. This was a revolutionary innovation, for the tribes had up to that time been arranged according to locality, but now a city-dweller with no land might be enrolled in a 'rustic' tribe. These persons were also enrolled in the *comitia centuriata* according to their property, so that the *classes* were there arranged according to a money-rating, not according to landed possessions. The influx of the *urbani humiles* into the 'rustic' tribes caused much indignation, and was not altogether a good thing, as they had but small sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the country land-owners. Accordingly in 304 B.C., the year of Flavius' aedileship, Q. Fabius Rullianus removed all who were not freeholders from the 'rustic' into the four 'urban' tribes (§ 14).

urbanis is prob. used as a substantive, *humilibus* as an adjective.

forum, *i.e.* the *comitia tributa*; *campum*, sc. *Martium*, *i.e.* the *comitia centuriata*, held in the Campus Martius.

§ 12 **Flavi**, *i.e.* at which F. was elected.

anulos...deposuerunt. See n. on c. 7. 8.

The name *phalerae* was applied to metal ornaments on a horse's harness or to military decorations of gold, silver, or bronze, worn by soldiers. The former meaning may be present here if Livy is thinking particularly of the *equites*, but the chief reference is probably to the medals awarded for prowess in war.

§ 13 **aliud**, 'Internal' Accus., limiting the intrans. *tendebat*. 'The honest folk...kept straining one way, the rabble of the market-place another way.'

integer = of unimpaired character, of unsullied honesty.

bonorum may be either masc. or neuter.

§ 14 **Q. Fabius et P. Decius**, the consuls of 408 B.C. (c. 41. 1).

censores facti. The *lustrum* introduced by the censorship of

C. Iunius Bubulcus and M. Valerius Maximus (c. 43. 25) apparently lasted only three years.

simul concordiae causa, simul ne.... For the variation cf. c. 2. 5 n.

turbam excretam...coniecit, contemptuous words.

urbanasque eas appellavit. This does not mean that the name *tribus urbanae* was now used for the first time, but that the 'urban' tribes were different from those of older times.

§ 15 **adeo**, with *gratis*.

transveherentur. The *transvectio equitum* was an annual full-dress parade of the knights, when they rode from the Porta Capena through the Forum to the Capitol. This must not be confused with the *recognitio equitum*, the inspection of the *equites equo publico* by the censors.

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

All the MSS. of the first decade, with the exception of the fragmentary Veronese palimpsest, which does not contain any part of Book IX., appear to be ultimately derived from a recension made by Symmachus about the end of the fourth century and revised by Victorianus and in part by Nicomachus Flavianus and Nicomachus Dexter. The chief MSS. containing Book IX. are as follows:

P = Codex Parisiensis (10th century), at Paris.

F = Codex Floriacensis (9th or 10th century), at Paris.

M = Codex Mediceus (10th or 11th century), at Florence.

U = Codex Upsaliensis (10th or 11th century), at Upsala.

O = Oxoniensis (early 11th century?), at Oxford[1].

Other MSS. are:

D = Codex Dominicanus (10th century[2]), at Florence.

R = Codex Romanus (11th century), in the Vatican Library, closely related to D and O.

L = Codex Leidensis I. (12th or 13th century), at Leyden.

A = Codex Agenensis (13th century), in the British Museum[3].

C. **1.** 9. **qui placari.** Gronovius: *placari* PMUL, a clumsy and almost impossible reading. The nom. of the rel. pron. is sometimes supplied from a preceding oblique case if only one relative clause precedes, as in c. 9. 8, but there is perhaps no instance of an omission of this kind when two or more such clauses precede.

[1] See Madan, *Cat. of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, IV. p. 440; Walters in *Classical Quarterly* II. (1908), pp. 210—215. A full collation of the MS. is not yet available, but Prof. Souter, who first drew my attention to the codex, has kindly examined for me its readings in the passages mentioned in these notes.

[2] Thus Signor Rostagno dates it. It is generally assigned to the 12th century. See Walters, *loc. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1.

[3] Harl. 2493. See Walters in *Classical Review* XVIII. (1904), pp. 392—394; on pp. 393 and 394 some readings from Book IX. are recorded.

2. 4. **is rumor** L; *et is rumor* or *is et rumor* best MSS., *is rumor et* H. J. Müller, perhaps rightly.

9. **demisso.** See commentary.

obiacente mole Sigonius, *obiacentem molem* codd.

3. 1. **adversa montium**: *alius adversa montium* best MSS., except O, *alius per diversa montium.*

3. **venies**: *venias* ('could one reach') Madvig and one late codex, but *venies* is better with *tu.* Livy gives a typical question addressed by one soldier to another. See Lat. Index *s.v.* '*tu.*'

4. 7. **[tum.]** See commentary.

9. **ut illis** Aldus, *illis ut* codd.

5. 7. **lapsos** Leid. II., but all important MSS. (including O and A) have either *missos lapsos* (*labsos* P) or *missos.* In all probability *lapsos* is a gloss on *missos*, which ought therefore to be read in the text.

6. 6. **lictoribus.** See commentary.

12. **salutantibus, non.** See commentary.

13. **bellicosius.** See commentary.

8. 7. **deditione nostra** L, Madv., but *in*+acc. = 'with a view to,' gives satisfactory sense.

9. 2. **intercalatae.** See commentary.

9. **[nec]** expunged by Madvig.

19. **sponsioni.** See commentary.

12. 2. **via**, an addition usually attributed to Ruperti or Madvig, but suggested by Drakenborch. *Inter quae media* is doubtful Latin, and *via* could easily have dropped out before *victoriae.*

3. **inclinatis**: *libatis* H. J. Müller.

6. **tamen.** See commentary.

13. 8. **interiecta** etc. See commentary.

16. 1. **†Frentanis.** See commentary. O reads *ferentanis.*

8. **clam.** Weissenborn and Madv., *clam nocte* codd.; *nocte* is unnecessary and awkward after *eadem nocte*, and is probably a gloss.

13. **seu crurum vi**, Madvig's ingenious em. of the MSS. reading *et seu virium vi.* The combination *virium vi* is very strange; in Nep. *Thrasyb.* I. 4, *ad vires vimque pugnantium* is probably not the correct reading (*ad vices rerum virtutemque pugnantium* Fleckeisen). Madvig's conjecture gives better sense, though it cannot be regarded as certain.

17. 2. **volutavit** PMUO. If we retain this, we must read *animus*, but *cogitationibus volutavit animus* is stranger even than the reading in the text, which has the authority of one inferior MS. See commentary.

18. 7. **cernente**: *cernentes* Madv.

11. **[cum fortuna]** doubtless a gloss.

12. **annalibus magistratuum fastisque.** *Annales mag.* is a strange name for the *libri lintei.* Mommsen conjectures *annalibus fastisque magistratuum*, Lut. *annalibus magistratuumque fastis*, which is palaeographically a little more probable. Perhaps, however, we should read *annalibus magistratuum fastis*, assuming that *que* was added by someone who took *annalibus* for a substantive.

19. 4. **a Thuriis.** See commentary and Appendix II., p. 257.

tenus: *tenus Samnites* codd. See commentary, n. on *a Thuriis.*

7. **clipei (clupei) sarisaeque** Madv., *clupeus* (*clipeus*) *sariseque* PUO, *cluisset arma cluisset* M, which led Madv. to suggest *clupei essent sarisaeque.*

illis: *illis id est hastae* all codd. except A. See commentary, n. on *a Thuriis*, § 4.

15. **[numquam ab equite hoste]** Madvig not unreasonably brackets these words as an interpolation, since they spoil the force of *equitem* in the next sentence. Livy's point, he argues, is 'foot-soldiers ...have given us no serious trouble; it is possible that a heavily burdened force may fear cavalry, arrows, etc.'; *saltus impeditos, avia comm. loca* correspond to *aperta acie, aequis, nostris locis*; it is natural to suppose that *equitem* and the closely connected *sagittas* (see commentary) are meant as an antithesis to *pedite*, and that *numquam ab equite hoste* is an interpolation by a would-be improver.

Such is Madvig's argument, and it has some force. If, however, we could retain *numquam ab equite hoste*, we should have a more effective rhetorical sentence, and we might get the required contrast by supposing that *loricatum* has dropped out after *laboravimus*, and reading *loricatum equitem* at the beginning of § 16. In xxxv. 48. 3 we find (*equites*) *loricatos, quos cataphractos vocant.* Thus we should have ordinary cavalry and infantry contrasted with the mail-clad mounted archers of the Parthians.

20. 9. **Forento** J. F. Gronovius, *torento* ML, *florento* PO, *florente* U.

22. 1. See commentary.

25. 5. **audierint** Ruperti, followed by Madvig, *audierunt* codd.

26. 7. **conscientia fuit** Madv., *conscientiae vis* PMUOL.

27. 8. **consulum.** See commentary.

28. 8. **Succasinam** or *Sucasinam* Mommsen, *Casinam* M, *Casinum* PUODL.

29. 3. As the dictator of this year was C. Sulpicius Longus, either Livy has made a blunder or some words, probably ⟨*C. Sulpicium Longum, is*⟩, have dropped out after *dictatorem*.

10. **possit** Madv. The MSS. reading *posset*, however, may stand: 'an occurrence such as might well cause (at the time)....'

30. 3. **duo imperia** PM²UO, *duos feria* M¹, *duo ministeria* Madv. See commentary.

31. 1. **Etruria.** See commentary.

31. 2 and 3. **Cluviani** is the reading best supported in § 2, *Cluviana* in § 3. Madv. objects to *oppugnatione Cluviana*, and would therefore read *Cluviani* in both places, assuming the name of the town to be *Cluvianum*. Nipperdey prefers to change the reading in § 2 to *Cluvias*. The authority for *Cluviae* as the name of the town consists of a doubtful reading in Tac. *Hist.* IV. 5 and *Cluvis* in an inscription. As Madvig's suggestion does very little violence to the MSS. tradition, it ought probably to be adopted, though his objection to the expression *oppugnatione Cluviana* can hardly be sustained, as Weissenborn shows, comparing IV. 16. 3 *Maeliana caedes* and Val. Max. II. 7. 4 *obsidio Liparitana*.

7. Madvig objects to the reading *quidam, pars forte...*, on the ground that *quidam* would imply that only certain deserters and captives out of a greater number (*certos ex maiore numero*) brought the unanimous report. He would therefore delete *pars* (as one inferior MS. does) and put a comma after *captivi*. But as Lut. points out, Madv. strains the meaning of *quidam*, which in Livy = *non nulli, aliquot*, and would not here imply only a part of the deserters and captives.

33. 2. **adduxit** A, Priscian XV. 2. 9, *abduxit* PMUOL.

3. **cui velut fato lis** Putsche, *quae velut fatales* (*-lis* O) P¹M¹UODL, *cui velut fatalis lis* Wesenberg, perhaps rightly, *cui velut fato res* Lut., who objects to *lis* as being used by Livy rarely and only in the sense of an action at law.

6. **potestatis** Crévier, *potestatem* codd.

34. 7. **scierunt** H. J. Müller, *sciverunt* codd. See commentary.

38. 7. **opprimendum** two late MSS., *optinendum* (*obtin.*) PMUOL. Some late codd. have *obterendum*, which ought perhaps to be adopted. For the v. ll. *obtinendum* and *obterendum* cf. *continet* and *conterit*, Mart. IV. 8. 1. For *obtero* cf. (with Lut.) Curt. III. 2. 10 *ad obterendum hostem*, Tac. *A*. XV. 11 *legionarios obtrivit*.

39. 4 init. See Appendix III.

41. 1. **[Decio collega datur.]** These words seem to be a gloss;

see c. 40. 21 *fin.* Some would omit *datur*, others would read *Decius* (with M²) for *Decio.*

8. **Etruscis:** *in Etruscis* Madv., who thinks the dat. would be appropriate only if the meaning were that the peace of the Etruscans was broken by internal disturbances. Even if this objection be warranted—which is very doubtful—it has no force if we take *Etruscis* closely with *tranquillas.*

44. 4. **memoriane fugerit** ed. Ascens. 1510. Madvig denies the Latinity of this, whether *memoria* is taken as nom. or abl., and he conjectures *defuerit* for *fugerit*: *memoriaene* (*-iene* P) *fugerit* (*fuerit* U) PMU, *memoriamne fugerit* cod. Gaertn., a possible reading.

10. See commentary.

45. 12. **vertit, est** Madv., *vertisset* (*avertisset* O) codd.

APPENDIX I.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF CHAPTERS 1—23[1].

It is difficult to be severely critical in dealing with such an eloquent and soul-stirring narrative as Livy's account of the Caudine disaster and its consequences. It is necessary, however, for the sake of historical accuracy, to examine the story in cold blood. When we do so we find to our surprise that the wonderful picture which kept us spell-bound is marred by inconsistencies and impossibilities; indeed the narrative of the Caudine incident, while one of Livy's masterpieces from the point of view of descriptive power, is one of his most unfortunate efforts from the point of view of strict scientific history. As soon as we come to the imprisonment of the Roman legions within the Caudine Forks, we are confronted with a host of improbabilities. Livy seems to forget that he had told us that there were two exits from the valley of Caudium; the army seems limited to one, the defile near Arpaja by which it had entered. Generals, officers, and men seem to be cowed in a moment. The only hint of fighting is in c. 4. 1, *cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent*, but these 'attempts to break out' were not long continued, for the army remained only one night in the camp, and on the following day it was resolved to negotiate with the enemy for terms of surrender. The reasons given for this decision are the failure of their attempts to break out and the scarcity of provisions and of all other necessaries. This is glaringly absurd. The legions had all their baggage with them, and Roman soldiers used to carry several days' provisions. On the day after they are shut in, an embassy is despatched; on its return a

[1] These criticisms are based on Nissen's article, *Der Caudinische Friede*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, XXV. (1870).

council of war is held, the consuls arrange the capitulation, and the army is sent under the yoke. In spite of this busy day's work, the legions have time to reach Capua before nightfall (c. 6. 4 *cum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent*).

It is clear, then, that the incidents are "crowded together as in the fifth act of a drama[1]." It is natural to conjecture that the interval between the shutting in of the army and the capitulation was much longer than Livy would have us believe. But then we lose one of the chief points of the narrative, the foolish rashness with which the Samnites allowed their good fortune to slip from their hands (c. 9. 11—13). On the other hand, if we consider the story of the want of provisions as a mere oversight, we shall be at a loss to explain the haste with which the Romans plunged into the agonising disgrace so forcibly portrayed by Livy. We must remember the size of the Roman force. Is it likely that such a multitude, finding itself in a spacious valley where it could be only partially surrounded by the enemy, would have surrendered without a protracted struggle? Niebuhr[2] concludes that the Romans, before surrendering, sustained a terrible defeat, comparable with that of Varus in A.D. 9, and this idea gains some support from later authors, such as Appian. But it seems clear that Roman tradition did not generally tell of a defeat before the surrender, as the narrative of subsequent events implies that the Romans went through the great catastrophe without any material loss of life or limb. The Samnites did not know how to use their fortune. The alternative proposals of Pontius were senseless; the only reasonable alternatives were to take the men as prisoners of war or to wait for a favourable reply to their proposals from the Senate and people of Rome before determining their treatment of the beleaguered armies. Thus the narrative of the Caudine disaster seems to be a hopeless tangle of incredible details. In order to unravel it as far as possible we had better turn for a short time to Livy's account of later events.

Chapter 12 recounts the revolt of Satricum and the capture by the Samnites of Fregellae, which doubtless ought to have been surrendered to them according to the terms of the 'Peace.' These were the only advantages—if we except the 600 hostages—which the Samnites had gained from their success near Caudium. Toward the end of the chapter we are told that an army under L. Papirius went to Apulia, while the other consul, Q. Publilius, conducted operations in Samnium against the

[1] Nissen. *l.c.*, p. 19.
[2] *R. G.* III. 185 ff. (neue Ausg. von M. Isler); *Vorträge über R. G.* 489 ff.

victors of Caudium. We are surprised to find that Luceria, which in the previous year was an allied state which must be defended at all costs, is now the chief position of the Samnites, who have conveyed there the 600 Roman hostages and the booty taken at Caudium. Publilius, we are told, defeats the army opposed to him; victor and vanquished then march to Luceria. The intervention of the Tarentines is rejected and the enemy defeated in a great battle (c. 14. 9 ff.). Then Publilius makes a victorious progress through part of Apulia, while Papirius compels Luceria to surrender, recovers the Roman hostages, and sends the Samnites (who, according to one version, included C. Pontius) under the yoke (c. 15. 7 f.).

In c. 16 are recorded the victories over the Frentani (?) and the Satricani. In c. 20, after the digression on Alexander the Great, there are some extraordinary notices which, as is evident from their dry chronicle-style, are taken from an early authority. In §§ 4 and 7 the reduction of Teanum is recorded twice, under the years 318 and 317. This error, which cannot have originated with Livy, is a striking commentary on the confused state even of the earliest annals. Again, at the beginning of the chapter we are told that the Samnites in 318 B.C. petitioned for 'a renewal of the treaty,' and, failing to persuade the Roman people, obtained a truce for two years. This statement is generally rejected, as the war in Apulia is said to have gone on without interruption, and Diodorus tells us that in 318 the Roman operations were not serious, being confined to isolated attacks on garrisons and plundering incursions (19. 10), so that there was nothing to induce the Samnites to sue for peace.

With c. 21 (B.C. 316) the chronicle-style ceases, and we have an account of the Roman attack on Saticula, which, says Livy, caused the Samnites to renew the war. The Romans are successful against both forces, and the Samnites, giving up all hope of protecting Saticula, retire and besiege Plistica (§ 6). Diodorus knows nothing of such occurrences in the year 316, and when we find the same details repeated with some additions and slight alterations in c. 22, which deals with the year 315, we are forced to the conclusion that the events of c. 21 are a mere repetition of those recorded in c. 22. When we come to c. 23 we are still further mystified. In § 1 we read: *mutata inde belli sedes est; ad Soram ex Samnio Apuliaque traductae legiones.* Thus Saticula is situated in Samnium or Apulia, if not in both! Again, Romans and Samnites alike hasten from Apulia and Samnium to Sora, in the Liris valley, and their way leads by Lautulae, in the neighbourhood of

Tarracina ! Such colossal ignorance of geography and carelessness as to possibilities may well 'give us pause.'

The limits of this little book do not permit of a thorough treatment of all the thorny points of the narrative. Suffice it to say that correcting Livy by means of Diodorus and Diodorus by means of common-sense, we get the following reasonable account of the events of the year 315. The Romans send the consul Papirius to Apulia, Publilius, or rather Popilius[1], to the Campanian frontier. The information given in c. 13. 6—8 is quite credible. The Samnites take Plistica and cause Sora to revolt, but are thoroughly defeated near Saticula. After this victory Popilius forces his way through Samnium and joins Papirius near Luceria. While Papirius conducts the siege of Luceria, Popilius undertakes the task of bringing the rest of Apulia under the Roman power. The Samnites, unable to hold the field in the east against the two consuls, now concentrate all their strength for a great offensive stroke in the west. They overrun Campania and win the glorious victory of Lautulae[2] over Q. Fabius, who had been appointed dictator to meet the new danger[3]. The Romans are compelled to recall their forces from the east, and to confine themselves to the defensive in Apulia; to this end they plant in Luceria a colony, the settlement of which is doubtless to be assigned to the year 314, as in Livy (c. 26. 5).

Thus the Apulian campaign of 315 B.C. has been transposed in Livy to the year 320. The transposition is certainly not due to him. Its reason must have been the desire to represent the Roman revenge as following quickly upon the disgrace of Caudium[4]. This falsification of the narrative has brought unutterable confusion in its train, so that a certain reconstruction of the history of the years 321—314 is impossible. In Livy's account the Samnites open the war by winning Satricum and Fregellae, which take the place held by Plistica and Sora in the subsequent narrative. The account of the subjugation of Satricum in 319 may be true, but the story of the surprise of Fregellae (c. 12. 5 ff.) is a fiction,

[1] The confusion in the names of the consuls during this period is of great importance, but cannot be dealt with here. See especially Nissen, pp. 25, 26 and 36 ff.

[2] The alternative version, mentioned in c. 23. 5, *invenio apud quosdam* etc., is thus correct, and the death of Q. Aulius, recorded in c. 22. 9, belongs to the battle of Lautulae.

[3] Thus Livy is wrong in attributing the whole campaign to the dictator, and stating that both consuls remained in Rome (c. 22. 1).

[4] A similar tendency is responsible for the pre-dating of the capture of Sora by one year in c. 24. 1—12.

probably modelled on the fate of the colonists of Sora. The tale of the Tarentine intervention (c. 14. 1 ff.) may be founded on fact, as the interests of Tarentum required that neither the Romans nor the Samnites should have control of Apulia. As to c. 16. 1, it has been shown in the commentary that we ought probably to read *Ferentanis* or *Forentanis* for *Frentanis*. The capture of Forentum (Φερέντη) is mentioned by Livy under the year 317, by Diodorus under 316: the date is quite uncertain, and in c. 20. 9 we may have an unwitting repetition of what has been mentioned in c. 16. 1.

It will be seen that, if the view just propounded is correct, the years 320 and 319 are free from any conflict with the Samnites. How are we to explain this? Probably we must assume that the two-years' truce mentioned in c. 20 under the year 318 has been misplaced, and that in the years 320 and 319 there was a cessation of hostilities. For this error we must thank the tendency which caused the great dislocation of the events of 315, the wish to make Rome's vengeance follow on the heels of her disaster.

We can now return to the subject of the agreement made at the Caudine Forks. The general belief in Livy's day was that a treaty (*foedus*) was made, but he represents the compact as a *sponsio* (c. 5. 2 ff.), and attacks Claudius for calling it a *foedus*. Cicero, who may have got all his information from Claudius (see Introd., p. xviii) expressly says that the sacrifice of a pig alluded to in c. 5. 3 was performed on that occasion: *de Invent.* II. 30. 91 *In eo foedere, quod factum est quondam cum Samnitibus, quidam adulescens nobilis porcum sustinuit iussu imperatoris. Foedere autem ab senatu improbato et imperatore Samnitibus dedito, quidam in senatu eum quoque dicit, qui porcum tenuerit, dedi oportere.* Cf. also § 92, *foedere summae religionis.* There can be no reasonable doubt that Cicero is right. Roman annalists would naturally desire to palliate the Roman guilt. A *foedus* was made under the warrant of the chief of the gods, whose wrath was invoked upon the people which should break the covenant. It was contracted by the *people* through its representatives, while a *sponsio* was a pledge made by officials who became personal sureties for its fulfilment. It is true that a *sponsio* was held to bind the state, and the relations of many federate states to Rome were based on such a compact (Cic. *Balb.* 12. 29); but in the case of a *foedus* the obligation was stronger, and a breach of it was a greater violation of the conscience of the state. We can thus see why Livy and other annalists before him gladly welcomed the supposition of a *sponsio*.

Livy's list of the characteristics of a *foedus* in c. 5 is by no means wholly true. Whether a *foedus* could be concluded by a general *iniussu populi* was a disputed point in Roman law. It would seem that the power to make treaties was inherent in the *imperium*, and it was repeatedly used by generals far distant from Rome. On the other hand, the sovereign right of the Senate and people to conclude *foedera* was an established principle of the law. In such circumstances some confusion and occasionally some shuffling were inevitable. It was not often that an agreement made by a general in the field so displeased the people that their consent to it was impossible; but some occasions are recorded in which a *foedus* so made was rejected by them. Such a proceeding was always felt to cast a certain stigma on Rome. The general had not gone beyond his powers, indeed the terms of the treaty actually remained in force till they were overthrown by legislation. Thus the people by repudiating a treaty betrayed the enemy's confidence, damaged Rome's prestige, and presumably incurred divine wrath. It says a great deal for the qualities of the Roman leaders that *foedera* made by them were so seldom set aside; when they were set aside the circumstances were generally such as to throw a lurid light on the public conscience of Rome.

Again, it can hardly be maintained that the presence of *fetiales* (c. 5. 1, 3, 4) was absolutely necessary for the conclusion of a *foedus*, though they were regularly sent after the people had expressed its consent to the treaty. Cicero, as we have seen, informs us that on the occasion in question 'a certain young man,' not a *fetialis*, 'held the victim by order of the general.' In § 3, *quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus...?* Livy shows ignorance of the facts. In other similar cases hostages were required, though their number was small, often ten or thirty, never as many as six hundred. Even the argument about the *sponsores* falls to the ground, for in historical times we have an authentic instance of the *foedus* of a consul accompanied by a *sponsio*. That instance requires something more than passing mention.

In 137 B.C. came the culmination of a series of disgraceful cases of Roman perfidy in the course of the wars in Spain. The consul Mancinus, being pursued by the Numantines and entrapped in a position from which he could not escape, sought peace, but as the brave Spaniards had been basely tricked only a year before, when the peace concluded by Q. Pompeius had been repudiated, they were not inclined to risk the same treatment again. Fortunately, however, Tiberius Gracchus, whose father was remembered with gratitude and affection in

Spain, was quaestor in Mancinus' army, and, undertaking to arrange conditions of peace, he concluded a solemn *foedus* with the Numantines. He and a number of his fellow-officers made themselves guarantors (*sponsores*) for the acceptance of the treaty. Thus an army of 20,000 men was saved, though their arms and baggage were given up to the enemy. The news of this transaction was received with consternation at Rome. The city was in a ferment. Mancinus was recalled, and replaced by his colleague, Aemilius Lepidus. Provisionally warlike operations ceased, for the treaty remained valid till the state should overthrow it. Ambassadors came from Numantia, and the Senate hotly discussed the situation. Action could not be taken before the expiry of Mancinus' office. In 136 B.C. one of the new consuls, L. Furius Philus, brought before the people a proposal that Mancinus should be surrendered to the Numantines, as he had concluded a treaty without the authority of the Senate; the Romans could then annul the treaty. The unhappy general was high-minded enough to commend this proposal himself to the people, and it was passed. Mancinus was accordingly delivered up by the *fetiales* and left outside the walls of Numantia. The Numantines declined to receive him, and when he had stood there for a whole day he was taken back to the Roman camp, after consultation of the auspices, and actually resumed his seat in the Senate at Rome. Meanwhile there was a cessation of hostilities, which continued for two years; in 134 the younger Scipio took over the siege.

The affair of Mancinus roused fierce party-feeling at Rome. One of the burning questions related to the giving up of the *sponsores*. Tiberius Gracchus had strenuously opposed the rejection of the treaty; when that was settled, however, he acquiesced in the decision, but held that he and the other *sponsores* must not be given up to the enemy. He had acted, he asserted, on the instructions of the consul, with whom the whole liability rested. On the other side was urged the precedent of Caudium, where consuls, quaestors and military tribunes were surrendered. The people decided in favour of Gracchus, and thus his position as a popular leader was saved. It seems to have been felt that, while the consul had brought the state under a religious obligation, the *sponsores* had plighted only their individual *fides*. According to some ancient authorities it was the desire to secure himself against impeachment, or other unpleasant consequences of his action in Spain, that led Gracchus to seek the tribunate of the plebs.

Now if we read Livy's account of the overthrow of the *pax* (cc. 7—11), we shall see suspicious resemblances to the story of Mancinus; in fact we can hardly doubt that the former story has been embellished and disfigured with details borrowed from the later incident. The brave words put in Postumius' mouth belong rather to Mancinus, *nobilissimus atque optimus vir*, as Cicero calls him. But most striking of all is the story of the tribunes, L. Livius and Q. Maelius (c. 8. 13—15, 9. 1—3, 10. 1 f.; Cicero, *Off.* 3. 30. 109 gives the name of Ti. Numicius instead of the former, and adds, *eorum auctoritate pax facta*). At first they resist the proposal to deliver them up with the other *sponsores*, but in the end they yield for the good of the state. The introduction of plebeian tribunes into the story is very puzzling. It is clear, however, that the author of the tale means to imply that two of the *sponsores* obtained the tribunate after their return to Rome. Obviously he was thinking of Tiberius Gracchus. The very name of Tiberius Numicius, given by Cicero, is suspicious. The tribunes' defence of the peace, their claim to gratitude for the rescue of so many citizens, and their alleged attempt to shelter themselves under the *sacrosanctitas* of the tribunes, are all suggested by Gracchus' conduct from 136 to 133 B.C. It is probable that another of the *sponsores* of the Numantine treaty held the tribunate along with Gracchus.

The honourable rôle of Mancinus may have been attributed to Postumius as the ancestor of Sp. Postumius Albinus, who was a prominent contemporary of the Gracchi. When consul he brought before the Senate the disgraceful conduct of his brother, who was defeated while acting as his legate in Numidia, and made peace with Jugurtha, suffering the Roman army to be sent under the yoke. The story of the farce by which the ancient Postumius afforded a pretext for renewing the war with the Samnites, differs from the story of the *deditio* of Mancinus. The whole tale of the Samnite war has a sort of religious groundwork, and at this point it was necessary to acquit the Romans of impiety in resuming the struggle.

It is impossible here to follow out in detail the comparison between the two stories of broken faith. It is, however, worthy of mention that the alternative demands which Livy puts into the mouth of C. Pontius (c. 11. 2), were, according to Orosius (5. 5. 3), actually made by the Numantine ambassadors. The fact that in Livy the whole decision about the Caudine peace falls to the Senate, while in the story of Gracchus the people settles the matter, indicates the political bias of the

authority whom Livy is following. Gellius (17. 21. 36) states that the *deditio* took place *populi iussu*[1].

We have seen that in the lively debates of the year 136 the precedent of Caudium was cited. Thus the overthrow of the Caudine treaty may be regarded as a historical fact, not as part of the monstrous perversion of history in which the annalists of the last century of the Republic indulged so freely. The story has been embellished and distorted, but the main fact of the repudiation of the Caudine treaty is substantiated. The repudiation, however, did not take place at once. There is every ground for believing that the Samnites profited greatly by their victory. The chief conditions imposed by them were doubtless the evacuation of Samnite territory and the restoration of the colonies settled by the Romans there. The enormous number of hostages was intended to enforce these demands. The bargain was fulfilled; Fregellae and Luceria were delivered up to the Samnites, and thereupon, it is probable, the hostages were returned. Thus the consuls of 321 fulfilled the terms of the treaty, and were allowed to go in peace. At the end of their year of office, however, a change took place. As we have seen, the story of the Samnites' petition for a renewal of the treaty (c. 20. 1 ff.), mentioned by Livy under the year 318 and in all probability derived from an old source, may reasonably be assigned to 320. Setting aside the suppliant prayers with which the narrative has been embellished, we may conclude that the words refer to the discussion at Rome about the confirmation of the treaty made by the consuls. The Senate, actuated by the inherited reverence for religion which coloured its political views, wished to uphold the solemn agreement. The masses, however, felt differently. With them conquest and the foundation of colonies to support the younger sons of their families were of the first importance; see, for example, c. 24. 15. Now by the peace of Caudium the colony of Fregellae had been given up, and the state forced back from its career of conquest with its accompanying increase of Roman territory. Thus the people resolved to set aside the treaty. There is no real evidence that they sent back either consuls or *sponsores*. The rejection of the treaty did not cause an immediate renewal of the war. The old notice to which reference has been made in this paragraph speaks of a two-years' truce. It is notable that exactly the same time elapsed before Scipio Africanus was sent against Numantia. This may rest on a

[1] The Senate often concluded treaties on its own responsibility; the people never did more than ratify or reject treaties already discussed by the Senate.

religious ground; possibly it was only after such an interval that a *duellum purum piumque* might be waged.

Enough has been said to show the difficulty of unearthing the truth from the records of this period. There are certainly elements of genuine tradition, many of which are conveyed in a curt, dry style which betrays its derivation from the pontifical chronicle or some similar source. In the post-Gracchan period, as has been shown in the Introduction, the falsification of history grew apace. The particular form of the fabrications was frequently determined by the political bias of the writer. Often patriotic motives and the desire to write in an interesting and effective manner may have caused unwarranted additions and distortions. The fact that Livy does not credit the Samnites with a single real victory in the whole course of the war is significant of the treatment of history by many of his predecessors.

APPENDIX II.

ON CHAPTERS 17—19.

In these chapters Livy considers *quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit*, and comes to the conclusion that Alexander could not have conquered the Romans. His arguments are far from satisfying. The following points may be briefly stated :—

1. Livy's attempt to minimise Alexander's greatness as a general is vain. Alexander was unique. Possessed of unflinching courage, sublime self-confidence and a wonderful personal magnetism, he could make his men win against all odds. He was a military genius. He was always at his best when a battle was imminent or raging. In organising his forces and planning his campaigns, as well as in securing his conquests, he showed consummate ability. The Romans had able generals, but Alexander was a heaven-born genius. His men never lost a battle when he was present.

2. Livy exaggerates the weakness of Alexander's enemies. The force which confronted him at the battle of Arbela was a most formidable one, and even if we belittle Darius' hordes it surely must be conceded that the great Indian army which he defeated so brilliantly at the Hydaspes would have defied any other general with impunity.

3. Livy grossly exaggerates the degeneracy of Alexander and his men (c. 18. 1—5). Alexander did adopt some of the ways of an eastern monarch, and attempted more and more to unite Greeks, Macedonians, and Asiatics in one compact army. He relaxed to some extent the almost ascetic habits which he had followed in earlier life, and occasionally he showed a new bitterness of spirit. But though a few episodes, such as that which resulted in the death of Clitus, have led to exaggerated accounts of revels and orgies, the truth is that up to the time of his

death Alexander remained an unmatched and unmatchable leader, never letting pleasures interfere with the work he had in hand. His army, even after a large infusion of Orientals and Orientalism, was still held together and kept efficient by the skill and the charm of its leader.

4. In c. 18. 6 Livy ridicules the idea that 'the majesty of Alexander's name' might have intimidated the Romans. It might, however, have encouraged other peoples of Italy to take the side of the conqueror. The Samnites would have welcomed him, and it is just possible that the newly conquered Latins would have joined in the rising.

5. The annual tenure of their magistracies would have been a great disadvantage to the Romans in carrying out an organised, consistent plan of resistance.

6. As has been shown in the note on c. 19. 8, Livy confuses Alexander's phalanx with that of later times. Moreover, shortly before his death Alexander had planned a lighter and more open arrangement of the phalanx. Even if the Roman infantry was a match for that of Macedon, Alexander's cavalry would in all probability have swept everything before it.

7. If Alexander's plan really was to conquer Italy after Africa, Spain, and Gaul, his army would have been much strengthened by contingents from the conquered countries, knit to the other soldiers by their leader's personality, as the Orientals had been knit before them. Thus even in the size of his army Alexander would have been far more formidable than Pyrrhus, who not many years later threatened the Roman power with destruction.

8. The argument in c. 18. 18f., that Alexander might have been killed and there was no one to take his place, is unanswerable, of course, but is surely rather unfortunate when the question is one of Alexander *versus* the Romans.

But we may well ask ourselves why Livy, who, as he himself avows more than once, has set himself sternly against the introduction of digressions which would interrupt the current of his history, on this occasion so departs from his rule as to give us in three long chapters a somewhat futile discussion of a somewhat futile question. Again, the opening words of c. 20, *M. Folius Flaccina* inde *et L. Plautius Venox consules facti*, are hardly natural after so long a digression, and give some support to the idea that c. 20 was originally intended to come immediately after c. 16, and that cc. 17—19 were inserted as an afterthought, suggested by the closing words of c. 16. Further study seems to confirm the idea, and also to show that in cc. 17—19 we have a

youthful production, an exercise composed by Livy about the age of eighteen, when he was a pupil in the school of a rhetor at Patavium. According to this view the first two sentences of c. 17 were added to connect the declamation with the previous chapter.

The evidence for this theory is set forth at length in a paper which will shortly be published in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. It can only be briefly summarised here.

1. The passage is extremely rhetorical, almost more so than the speeches introduced by Livy, and it suggests the rhetor's school everywhere. Note:—

(1) It opens with a commonplace, perhaps suggested by the *rhetor*: c. 17. 3 *plurimum...potens*.

(2) Rhetorical elements abound: balanced structure, whether chiastic or not, very frequent use of the First Person, both singular and plural, occasional introduction of the Second Person Singular, many rhetorical questions and exclamations, rhetorical elaboration, rhetorical adverbs and particles (c. 17. 12, 17. 15, 18. 6, 18. 16, 19. 10), and expressions such as are familiar in Cicero's speeches, *e.g. ut omittam* (17. 6), *recenseam...?* (17. 7), *ne singulos nominem* (17. 14), *referre piget* (18. 4), *quot...nominem?* (18. 12).

2. There are signs of its having been composed in Livy's youth.

(1) Frequent use of the First Person Singular.

(2) Absurd exaggeration and misstatement. This has partly been indicated above. The worst instance is the ridiculous assertion in c. 19. 15, *numquam ab equite hoste, numquam a pedite, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laboravimus*. In c. 19. 3, 4 we have a series of careless statements; see the notes.

(3) Signs of ignorance of which he could hardly have been guilty after coming to Rome (about B.C. 30, at the age of 29?):

(*a*) In c. 19. 4, if the reading *a Thuriis* is correct, as it probably is, he implies that Thurii was on the Tuscan sea.

(*b*) In the same section he implies that Antium and Ostia were Greek colonies.

(*c*) In c. 19. 7 he shows such an elementary ignorance of Roman and Macedonian weapons as we can hardly imagine his having shown in mature years.

(4) The arguments are rather poor, as has been shown.

(5) There is an amusing piece of schoolboy rhetoric in c. 18. 5.

(6) He shows a special remembrance of things which would have been impressed on his boyish mind :—

(*a*) The tactics and the menacing power of the Parthians; see especially c. 19. 16.

(*b*) Civil wars. C. 19. 15, *absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant*, has no special significance (and would not be a very politic utterance) if we suppose it to have been written about 25—22 B.C.

(*c*) Pompey. Note c. 17. 6, *sicut magnum* modo *Pompeium*.

The evidence here amassed seems, then, to show that the digression in cc. 17—19 is a youthful exercise. Livy doubtless intended to revise it before publishing his history, but his intention, like many other such intentions from his day to ours, was never fulfilled.

Perhaps the only weighty objection which can be brought against this view is that the last clause of c. 19. 17 seems more appropriate to 23 B.C. than to 41 B.C. But the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius by the harmonious action of Octavian and Antony seemed to promise a new era of peace after years of turmoil. We must remember that Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* was written in B.C. 40.

APPENDIX III.

ON c. 39. 4 f.

THE abrupt transition, introduced by the impossible *nam*, has naturally led most scholars to assume a considerable lacuna after § 3. This supposition, however, does not remove the difficulty. The mention of a great slaughter of the Umbrians is out of place in this position, and is surely inconsistent with c. 41. 8, *repentina defectio Vmbrorum, gentis integrae a cladibus belli*. It is far more likely that the words *nam... pugnam* have been misplaced, and were intended as an addition to the first sentence of § 11, *ille primum dies...Etruscorum fregit opes*; they may have been written by Livy, but are more probably the comment of an annotator.

It is probable, however, that the explanatory note ended not with *pugnam*, but with *lacum*. We can then see the reason for it more clearly. 'That day,' says Livy in § 11, 'was the first to break the prosperity of the Etruscans.' This naturally arouses the question,—what were the other steps in their downfall? Livy or (more probably) a commentator thought he saw them in the battle with the Etruscans and Umbrians described in c. 41. 15—20, and in the disastrous struggle at L. Vadimonis in B.C. 283 (the so-called 'second battle of Lake Vadimo'); he therefore inserted a note to that effect, which has been incorporated in the text at the wrong place[1]. If this view is correct, there is no authority in Livy for placing the great battle of c. 39 at Lacus Vadimonis, and as there seems to be no other authority for

[1] If Livy is the author of the note, it must have been accidentally omitted by a scribe, and afterwards supplied in the margin, finally being inserted in the wrong position,—a common error in MSS.

placing it there, the so-called 'first battle of Lake Vadimo' appears to be a myth, based on a textual corruption in Livy.

We have thus transposed the whole of § 4 and the first three words of § 5. If we suppose that the word *et* has dropped out before *Etrusci* in § 5, we make the next sentence read quite plausibly ; *et* is often thus used by Livy at the beginning of a new sentence describing a new action. *Interea res in Etruria gestae,* which is found in the margin of P after *tolerarunt pugnam*, has, of course, no claim to be embodied in the text.

The transition from the imminent battle with the Samnites to that with the Etruscans is somewhat abrupt, though its abruptness is not without a certain effectiveness. It must be noted that the battle between the Romans and the Samnites (apparently the first one described in the next chapter, § 7) was evidently delayed for a considerable time, while each army remained in its *stativa* (c. 39. 3). It is probable, however, that Livy intended subsequently to work up this part of the chapter. We have already seen (in Appendix II.) that he appears to have left some portions of this book 'in the rough,' meaning to revise them at leisure, an intention which was never fulfilled. It is not to be wondered at if, after the exaggerated account of the exploits of Fabius against the Etruscans (cc. 35—37), he failed to see at the outset how he could fit into the narrative such an account of a great battle as implied that the Etruscan forces had been left practically unimpaired. The *callida iunctura* was left for a more convenient season, which never came.

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